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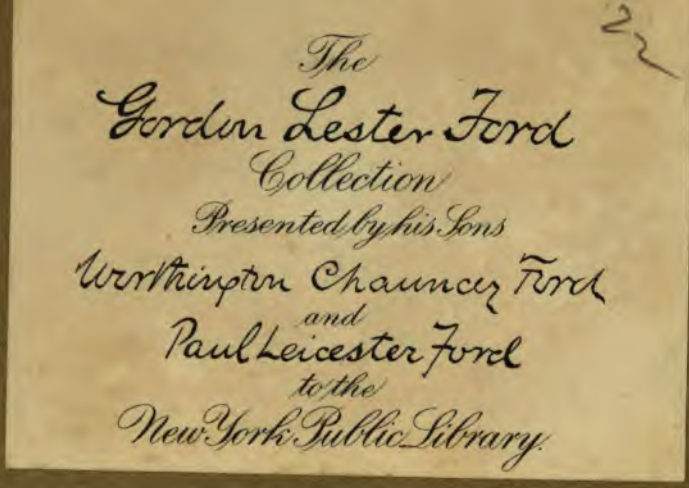

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

L I F E

OF THE REVEREND

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, M. A.

Late Chaplain to the Right Honorable

THE COUNTESS OF HUNTINGDON:

IN WHICH

Every Circumſtance worthy of Notice, both in his private and public Character, is recorded.

Faithfully ſelected from his Original PAPERS, JOURNALS and LETTERS.

ILLUSTRATED BY

A Variety of intereſting and entertaining ANECDOTES, from the beſt Authorities.

WITH

A particular ACCOUNT of his DEATH and FUNERAL; and Extracts from the SERMONS, which were preached on that Occaſion.

COMPILED

By the REV. JOHN GILLIES, D. D.

To which is now added,

AN EXTRACT FROM MR. WHITEFIELD'S TRACTS.

Yea, doubtleſs, I count all things but loſs, for the excellency of the knowledge of CHRIST JESUS, MY LORD: For whom I have ſuffered the loſs of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win CHRIST. PHIL. iii. 8.

And I will very gladly ſpend, and be ſpent for you. 2. Cor. xii. 15.

For he that winneth ſouls is wiſe. PROV. xi. 30.

And they that be wiſe, ſhall ſhine as the brightneſs of the firmament: and they that turn many to righteouſneſs, as the ſtars, for ever and ever. DAN. xii. 3.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

THE REVEREND

MR. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

CHAP. I.

From his Birth, to his going to the University of Oxford, *Anno* 1732.

THIS eminent and pious servant of Christ, Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, was born at Gloucester, on the sixteenth day of December, *O. S.* 1714. His father, Thomas Whitefield, nephew of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Whitefield, of Rockhampton, in Gloucestershire*, was first bred to the employment of a wine-merchant

* The Rev. Mr. Samuel Whitefield, great-grandfather of George, was born at Wantage in Berkshire, and was Rector of North Ledyard in Wiltshire. He removed afterwards to Rockhampton. He had five daughters, two of whom were married to clergymen, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Lovingham: And two sons, Samuel, who succeeded his father in the Cure of Rockhampton, and died without issue; and Andrew, who was a private gentleman, and lived retired upon his estate. Andrew had fourteen children, of whom Thomas was the eldest, the father of Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

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merchant in Briſtol; but afterwards kept an Inn in the city of Glouceſter. In Briſtol he married Miſtreſs Elizabeth Edwards, who was related to the Blackwells and Dimours, of that city; by whom he had ſix ſons and one daughter*. Of theſe, George was the youngeſt, who being bereaved of his father, when only two years old, was regarded by his mother with a peculiar tenderneſs, and educated with more than ordinary care.

He was early under religious impreſſions; but the bent of his nature, and the general courſe of his younger years, as himſelf acknowledges † with expreſſions of ſhame and ſelf-condemnation, was of a very different kind.

Between the years of twelve and fifteen, he made a good progreſs in the Latin claſſics, at the public ſchool; and his eloquence began to appear, even at that early period, in the ſpeeches which he delivered at the annual viſitations. It is probable the applauſe he received on theſe occaſions, contributed to his fondneſs for theatrical amuſements: From whence it has been inſinuated, that he learned his oratory upon the ſtage. This, however, ſeems to have no other foundation, than his acting a part, ſome-

* Elizabeth, the daughter, was twice reputably married at Briſtol. John, his ſon, lies interred with the family, in St. Mary Decrypt Church in Glouceſter. Joſeph died an infant. Andrew ſettled in trade at Briſtol, and died in the twenty-eighth year of his age. James was Captain of a ſhip, and died ſuddenly at Bath. Thomas and Richard are ſtill living. The father died December, 1716. The mother continued a widow ſeven years, and was then married to Mr. Longden, an Ironmonger in Glouceſter, by whom ſhe had no iſſue. She died December, 1751, in the ſeventy-firſt year of her age.

† See the two firſt parts of his Life at the beginning.—Confeſſions of a like nature, are to be found in the writings of St. Auguſtin.

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ſometimes, with his fellow-ſcholars; particularly, in certain dramatic performances prepared for them by their maſter: For that he was more indebted as an orator to nature, than to art of any kind, muſt be evident to all perſons of diſcernment who were acquainted with him. Such could not fail to obſerve, that his eloquence was in a great meaſure the effect of his genius, and proceeded chiefly from that peculiar aſſemblage of extraordinary talents with which GOD had endowed him.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, it appears from his conduct, that he either had not yet diſcovered where his talents lay, or could not find means to qualify himſelf for entering into any profeſſion where they might be properly exerciſed: for when he was about fifteen years of age, he declined the purſuit of learning, and talked of getting an education that would better fit him for buſineſs. During this period, he ſtill continued to reſide with his mother; and as her circumſtances were not then ſo eaſy as before, he did not ſcruple to aſſiſt her in the buſineſs of the tavern. But the prevailing bent of his genius began now ſtrongly to diſcover itſelf; for even in this unfavorable ſituation he compoſed ſeveral ſermons, one of which he dedicated to his eldeſt brother: And after having viſited him at Briſtol, he came home with a reſolution to abandon his preſent employment, and to turn his thoughts a different way.

AFTER this, being for ſome time diſengaged from every purſuit, and but poorly ſupported out of his mother's ſcanty ſubſiſtence, he was in no ſmall danger of being utterly ruined by the influence of his former companions: but it pleaſed GOD to break the ſnare by filling him with an abhorrence of their evil deeds.

ABOUT this time, the impreſſions of religion began again to recover their influence in his breaſt: And when

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when he was seventeen years of age, he received the sacrament of the Lord's supper. He now became more and more watchful, both over his heart and conversation. He was frequently employed in fasting and prayer; spent much of his time in reading books of devotion; attended public worship twice every day; and so deeply was he engaged in these exercises, that his thoughts were constantly set on the great things of religion.

CHAP. II.

From the time of his going to the University of Oxford, *to his embarking for* Georgia, *Anno* 1737.

WHEN Mr. WHITEFIELD arrived at eighteen, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where he was again exposed to the society of the wicked: But remembering his former danger and deliverance, by the grace of GOD, he resisted all their solicitations, and cultivated an acquaintance with the Methodists, as the only persons that seemed to preserve a sense of religion, through the whole of their deportment.

IT would be going beyond our purpose to give an account of the rise of Methodism: For this, the reader is referred to the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's first Journal. But it may not be improper to notice the spirit of the age, when it first appeared.—At that time, serious and practical Christianity in England was in a very low condition; scriptural, experimental religion, (which in the last century used to be the subject of the sermons and writings of the clergy) was become quite unfashionable; and the only thing insisted

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insisted on was a defence of the out-works of Christianity against the objections of infidels. What was the consequence? The writings of infidels multiplied every day, and infidelity made a rapid progress among persons of every rank, not because they were reasoned into it by the force of argument, but because they were kept strangers to Christ and the power of the gospel. We have a most affecting description of this, by Bishop Butler, whom none will suspect of exaggerating the fact:* "It is come, "I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many "persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject "of inquiry; but that it is, now at length, discovered to be fictitious; and accordingly they treat "it, as if in the present age, this were an agreed "point among all people of discernment; and no-"thing remained but to set it up as a principal sub-"ject of mirth and ridicule; as it were by way of "reprisals, for its having so long interrupted the "pleasures of the world." Such was the state of religion in England, and Scotland was greedily swallowing down the poison, when it pleased GOD to raise up the Methodists, as instruments to revive his work in the midst of abounding impiety, and to bring multitudes who had scarcely a form of godliness, to experience its quickening and renewing power.

HAPPY was it for Mr. WHITEFIELD, that there was a society of Methodists, at that time, in Oxford; but especially that he became acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Charles Wesley, by whom he was treated with particular kindness. Such benefit did he receive under his ministry, that he always accounted him his spiritual father. And Mr. Wesley's reciprocal affection for him, stands recorded in the verses at the beginning of Mr. WHITEFIELD's second and third Journals.

LIKE

* Preface to his Analogy, May, 1736.

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LIKE the other Methodiſts, Mr. WHITEFIELD now began to live by rule, and to improve every moment of his time to the beſt advantage. He received the communion every Sabbath, viſited the ſick, and the jail priſoners, and read to the poor. For daring to be thus ſingularly religious, he ſoon incurred the diſpleaſure of his fellow-ſtudents, and felt the effects of it in their unkind behavior. In the mean time, he was greatly diſtreſſed with melancholy thoughts, which were augmented by exceſſive bodily auſterities. And at laſt, by reading, and perhaps, miſunderſtanding ſome myſtic writers, he was driven to imagine, that the beſt method he could take, was to ſhut himſelf up in his ſtudy, till he had perfectly mortified his own will, and was enabled to do good without any mixture of corrupt motives. He likewiſe imagined that he muſt relinquiſh external duties, and public worſhip, and laſtly, (which was no ſmall trial and affliction to him) that he muſt deny himſelf the pleaſure of converſing with his religious friends. In this pitiable ſtate of mind, Mr. Charles Weſley found him one day, when he went to ſee him; apprized him of his danger, if he perſiſted in that way of life, and recommended to him his brother as a perſon of greater experience; who readily gave him, from time to time, his friendly advice. Soon after this, however, he carried his abſtinence and faſting to ſuch an extreme, that his body was ſo emaciated and feeble, that he could hardly walk up ſtairs. His tutor therefore thought proper to call a phyſician, and it appeared by the event, he had rightly judged in doing ſo: for it pleaſed GOD to make the phyſician's care and medicines ſucceſsful to his recovery.

His bodily health being reſtored, his ſoul was likewiſe filled with peace and joy in believing on the Son of GOD. This joy was ſo great for ſome time, that go where he would, he could not help praiſing

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God continually in his heart, and with some difficulty restrained himself from doing it aloud. As he was urged to go into the country for confirming his health, he returned to his native air at Glocester, where (his mind being now happily enlightened) he preferred the sacred writings to all other books, and read them with constant prayer; in which exercise he found unspeakable delight and benefit. But inclination conspired with duty, to hinder him from confining his religion to himself: Having a heart formed for society and friendship, he could not think of shutting himself up in his closet; but made it his business to converse with young persons, about his own time of life, in order to awaken them to a sense of religion. God was pleased soon to give success to his endeavors this way; for several of them joined with him, and notwithstanding the contempt they knew it would bring upon them, met together from time to time for religious exercises. He also there read to some poor people in the town, twice or thrice a week, and read and prayed with the prisoners in the county goal every day.

Being now about twenty-one years of age, he was sent for by Doctor Benson, Bishop of Glocester; who told him, That though he had purposed to ordain none under three-and-twenty, yet he should reckon it his duty to ordain him whenever he applied. Upon which, at the earnest persuasion of his friends, he prepared for taking orders.

His behavior on this occasion was very exemplary. He first studied the Thirty-nine Articles, that he might be satisfied of their being agreeable to Scripture. Then, he examined himself by the qualifications of a minister mentioned in the New Testament, and by the questions that he knew were to be put to him at his ordination. On the Saturday, he was much in prayer for himself and those who were to be ordained

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ed with him. On the morning of his ordination, (which was at Gloucester, Sunday, June 20, 1736) he rose early, and again read, with prayer, St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy; and after his ordination, went to the Lord's table.

The Sunday following, he preached his Sermon on *The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society*, to a very crowded auditory; and that same week, he set out for Oxford, whither he inclined to go, rather than to the parish which the Bishop would have given him; because it was the place where he might best prosecute his studies, and where he hoped his labors might be most useful.* Soon after this, he was invited to officiate at the Chapel of the Tower of London. The first time he preached in London, was August, 1736, at Bishopsgate Church. Having a very young look, the people were surprised at his appearance, and seemed to sneer as he went up to the pulpit; but they had not heard him long, when their contempt was turned into esteem, and their smiles into grave attention. He continued at the Tower two

* "Last Sunday in the afternoon, I preached my first sermon in the church where I was baptized, and also first received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.—Curiosity drew a large congregation together. The sight, at first, a little awed me. But I was comforted with a heart-felt sense of the Divine Presence: And soon found the advantage of having been accustomed to public speaking, when a boy at school; and of exhorting and teaching the prisoners, and poor people at their private houses, whilst at the University. By these means, I was kept from being daunted over-much. As I proceeded, I perceived the fire kindled, till at last, though so young, and amidst a crowd of those who knew me in my childish days, I trust, I was enabled to speak with some degree of Gospel-authority.—Some few mocked; but most, for the present, seemed struck: and I have since heard, that a complaint had been made to the Bishop, that I drove fifteen mad, the first sermon. The worthy prelate, as I am informed, wished that the madness might not be forgotten before next Sunday."

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two months, preaching, catechising, and visiting the soldiers; and several serious young men came to hear his morning discourses on the Lord's day. In the mean time, the letters which the Rev. Messieurs Wesleys and Ingham wrote home from Georgia, made him long to go and preach the Gospel in those parts; yet he waited till Providence should make his way more clear, and returning to Oxford, he found himself very happy in his former employments, and had much pleasure in reading *Henry's Commentary on the Bible*, and in the company of some religious young men, who met together in his chamber every day.

In November, 1736, he was again called from Oxford, to minister at Dummer in Hampshire.—This was a new sphere of action among poor illiterate people; but he was soon reconciled to it, and thought he reaped no small profit by conversing with them. Nevertheless, he continued his studies with unwearied application: Dividing the day into three parts; eight hours for sleep and meals, eight for public prayers, catechising and visiting; and eight for study and retirement. During his stay here, he was invited to a very profitable curacy in London; but did not accept of it, as he was still intent upon going abroad. Providence, at length, seemed to open a door to him; for he received letters, containing what he thought to be an invitation to go to Georgia, from Mr. John Wesley, whose brother came over about this time to procure more laborers. It is easy to judge how readily this proposal would be embraced: and now that he thought himself clearly called, (many things concurring to make his stay at home less necessary) he set his affairs in order, and in January, 1737, went to take leave of his friends in Gloucester and Bristol. At Gloucester, the congregations, when he preached, were very large and very serious. At Bristol, many persons were forced to return from the churches where

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where he was invited to preach, for want of room. He went alſo to Bath, where he was kindly received, and preached twice. But he did not ſtay long at any of theſe places, being obliged to go to Oxford about the latter end of February; from whence he came up to London, to wait upon General Oglethorp, and the Truſtees for Georgia. He was ſoon introduced to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, who both approved of his going abroad. While he continued at London, waiting for General Oglethorp, he preached more frequently than he had done before, and greater numbers of people flocked to hear him. But finding that the General was not likely to ſail for ſome time; and being under particular obligations to the Rev. Mr. Sampſon Harris, miniſter at Stonehouſe in Glouceſterſhire, he went at his requeſt, to ſupply his charge, till he ſhould diſpatch ſome affairs in London. There he was very happy in his public miniſtrations, but eſpecially in his retirements, which he uſed afterwards to reflect upon with great ſatisfaction. On Mr. Harris' return, he left Stonehouſe, and upon repeated invitations went a ſecond time to Briſtol, where he preached as uſual, about five times a-week. Here the multitudes of his hearers ſtill encreaſed.† He was attended by perſons of all ranks and denominations; private religious ſocieties were erected; a collection for the poor priſoners in Newgate, was made twice or thrice a-week; and large encouragement was offered to him, if he would not go abroad. During his ſtay at Briſtol, which was from the end of May to the twenty-firſt of June, he paid a ſecond ſhort viſit to Bath, where the people crouded, and were ſeriouſly affected,

† "Some hung upon the rails, others climbed up the leads "of the church, and all together made the church itſelf ſo "hot, with their breath, that the ſteam would fall from the "pillars like drops of rain."

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affected, as at Briſtol, and no leſs than 160*l.* was collected for the poor of Georgia.

JUNE 21, he preached his farewel-ſermon at Briſtol; and towards the end of the diſcourſe, when he came to tell them, "it might be they would ſee "him no more," the whole congregation was exceedingly affected; high and low, young and old, burſt into a flood of tears. Multitudes, after ſermon, followed him home weeping; and the next day he was employed from ſeven in the morning till midnight, in talking and giving advices to thoſe who came to him, about the concerns of their ſouls and ſalvation.

FROM Briſtol he went to Glouceſter, and preached to a very crowded auditory; and after ſtaying a few days went on to Oxford, where he had an agreeable interview with the other Methodiſts, and came to London about the end of Auguſt.

HERE he was invited to preach and aſſiſt in adminiſtering the ſacrament in a great many churches. The congregations continually increaſed; and generally on the Lord's-day, he uſed to preach four times to very large and very much affected auditories, and to walk ten or twelve miles in going to the different churches. His friends began to be afraid he would hurt himſelf: but he uſed to ſay, "He found, by "experience, the more he did, the more he might "do for God."

HIS name was now put into the news-papers, (though without his conſent or knowledge,) as a young gentleman going volunteer to Georgia, who was to preach before the ſocieties at their general quarterly meeting. This ſtirred up the people's curioſity more and more. He preached on that occaſion, his ſermon on *Early Piety*, which was printed at the requeſt of the ſocieties. After this, for near three months ſucceſſively, there was no end of people's

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people's flocking to hear him, and the managers of charity-schools were continually applying to him to preach for the benefit of the children; for that purpose they procured the liberty of the churches on other days of the week besides the Lord's day; and yet thousands went away from the largest churches, not being able to get in. The congregations were all attention, and seemed to hear as for eternity. He preached generally nine times a-week, and often administered the sacrament early on the Lord's-day morning, when you might see the streets filled with people going to the church with lanthorns in their hands, and hear them conversing about the things of God.

As his popularity increased, opposition increased proportionably. Some of the clergy became angry; two of them sent for him, and told him, they would not let him preach in their pulpits any more, unless he renounced that part of the preface of his sermon on *Regeneration*, (lately published) wherein he wished "that his brethren would entertain their audito-"ries oftener with discourses upon the new birth." Probably some of them were irritated the more, by his free conversation with some of the serious Dissenters, who invited him to their houses, and repeatedly told him, "That if the doctrines of the new-"birth, and justification by faith, were preached "powerfully in the churches, there would be few "Dissenters in England." Nor was he without opposition even from some of his friends. But under these discouragements, he had great comfort in meeting every evening with a band of religious intimates, to spend an hour in prayer, for the advancement of the gospel, and for all their acquaintance, so far as they knew their circumstances. In this he had uncommon satisfaction: once he spent a whole night with them in prayer and praise; and sometimes at midnight,

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midnight, after he had been quite wearied with the labors of the day, he found his ſtrength renewed in this exerciſe, which made him compoſe his ſermon upon *Interceſſion*.

THE nearer the time of his embarkation approached, the more affectionate and eager the people grew. Thouſands and thouſands of prayers were put up for him. They would run and ſtop him in the alleys of the churches, and follow him with wiſhful looks. But above all, it was hardeſt for him to part with his weeping friends at St. Dunſtan's, where he helped to adminiſter the ſacrament to them, after ſpending the night before in prayer: This parting was to him almoſt inſupportable.

CHAP. III.

From the time of his embarking for Georgia, *to his re-embarking for* England, 1738.

IN the latter end of December, 1737, he embarked for Georgia. *This was to him a new, and at firſt appearance, a very unpromiſing ſcene. The ſhip was full of ſoldiers, and there were near twenty women among them. The captains, both of the ſoldiers and ſailors, with the ſurgeon, and a young cadet, gave him ſoon to underſtand, that they looked upon him as an impoſtor, and for a while treated him as ſuch. The firſt Lord's-day, one of them played on the hautboy, and nothing was to be ſeen but cards, and little heard, but curſing and blaſphemy. This

* Here begins a manuſcript of Mr. WHITEFIELD's, from which ſeveral paſſages are taken in the following account. It is referred to by M. S.

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This was a very disagreeable situation; but it is worth while to observe, with what prudence he was helped to behave among them, and how God was pleased to bless his patient and persevering endeavors to do them good.

He began with the officers in the cabin, in the way of mild and gentle reproof; but this had little effect.* He therefore tried what might be done between decks, among the soldiers. And though the place was not very commodious, he read prayers and expounded twice a-day. At first he could not see any fruit of his labor, yet it was encouraging to find it so kindly received by his new red-coat parishioners (as he calls them) many of whom submitted chearfully to be chatechised about the lessons they had heard expounded.

In this situation things continued for some time. But all this while, he had no place for retirement, and there was no divine service in the great cabin, both which he greatly desired. At last he obtained his wish: one day finding the ship captain a little inclined to favor him, he asked him to suffer him now and then to retire into the round-house, where the captain slept, and offered him money for the loan of it. The captain would not take the money, but readily granted his request. Soon afterwards, the military captain having invited him to a dish of coffee, he took the liberty to tell him, "That though "he was a volunteer on board, yet as he was on "board, he looked upon himself as his chaplain, and "as such, he thought it a little odd, to pray and "preach

* "I could do no more for a season, than whilst I was "writing, now and then turn my head by way of reproof, to "a Lieutenant of the soldiers, who swore as though he was "born of a swearing constitution. Now and then, he would "take the hint, return my nod with a, 'Doctor, I ask your "pardon,' and then to his cards and swearing again." M. S.

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"preach to the servants, and not to the master:" and added withal, "That if he thought proper, he "would make use of a short collect now and then, "to him, and the other gentlemen in the great "cabin." After pausing a while, and shaking his head, he answered, "I think we may, when we have "nothing else to do." This aukward hint was all he got for the present; yet he was encouraged thereby to hope, that the desired point would be soon gained.

THEY were detained in the Downs, by contrary winds, for near a month; the soldiers on board became by this time more and more civilized, and the people at Deal heard him gladly. There he preached thrice, at the invitation of the ministers, and often expounded in the house where he lodged. This work was very delightful to him; but he was suddenly called away by a fair wind, about the end of January, 1738, just after he had preached in upper Deal church.

BEING returned to the ship, he began to comfort himself with some promising appearances of doing good in the great cabin. As he had no better place, he generally every night retired with his friend, Mr. Habersham, and his brother, and two servants, behind the round-house, for prayer and other religious exercises. Sometimes, he perceived Captain Whiting was hearkening within. One day, finding on the Captain's pillow, the *Independent Whig*, he exchanged it for a book entitled, *The Self-Deceiver*. Next morning the Captain came smiling, and enquired who made that exchange; Mr. WHITEFIELD confessed the charge, and begged his acceptance of the book, which he said he had read, and liked very well. From thence forward a visible alteration was seen in him. The other Captain also, about the same time, met him as he was coming from between decks, and

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and desired, "that they might have public service, "and expounding, twice a-day, in the great cabin."

In about a fortnight, they reached Gibralter, whither they were bound to take in some more soldiers. There, one Major Sinclair had been so kind as to provide a lodging for him unasked, who with the other military gentleman, even Governor Sabine, and General Columbine, received him most courteously. Being apprehensive, that at a public military table, he might be more than hospitably entertained, by way of prevention, he begged leave to remind his Excellency of an observation made in the book of Esther, on the court of the great Ahasuerus, "That none did compel." He took the hint, and genteelly replied, "That no compulsion of any kind should be "used at his table." And every thing was carried on with great decorum. The officers attended at public worship with order and gravity; the ministers also behaved with great civility; and all concurred to give him invitations to preach, which he did twice or thrice in the week;* and in the evenings and mornings, when not on board, he expounded, conversed and prayed with a religious society of soldiers, who had liberty from the Governor to assemble at any time in the church. His evening expositions were attended, not only by the soldiers, but by officers, ministers and towns-people; and from all that could be judged, his labors were not without the divine blessing.

Finding another society of religious soldiers there, belonging to the Church of Scotland, he sent them,

* "Strange and unusual was the scene, both with respect "to the place and people. The adjacent promontories, and "the largeness of the rock of Gibralter, helped me to en"large my ideas of Him, who *in his strength setteth fast the* "*mountains, and is girded about with power.* And the place "being, as it were, a public rendezvous of all nations, I "thought I saw the world in epitome." M. S.

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them, as well as the former, some proper books, talked with several of them, and endeavored to unite both societies together; urging on them the necessity of a catholic, disinterested love, and of joining in prayer for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ. This exhortation also, by the blessing of God, had a good effect; and two or three of the latter society being draughted out for Georgia, desired leave to go in the ship with Mr. WHITEFIELD, which was readily allowed them.

BEFORE the embarkation of the soldiers, by the General's consent, he gave them a parting discourse in the church. And after embarkation, from time to time, as the weather permitted, he preached to them on board their respective ships.* Colonel Cochran, who commanded, was extremely civil: and soon after their setting sail, there was such a change upon Captain Mackay, that he desired Mr. WHITEFIELD would not give himself the trouble of expounding and praying in the cabin, and between decks; for he would order a drum to be beat morning and evening, and himself would attend with the soldiers on the deck. This produced a very agreeable alteration; they were now as regular as in a church. Mr. WHITEFIELD preached with a Captain on each side of him, and soldiers all around; and the two other ships' companies, being now in the trade-winds, drew near, and joined in the worship of God. The great cabin was now become a Bethel; both Captains were daily more and more affected; and a crucified Savior, and the things pertaining to the kingdom of God,

* He not only preached to them; but gave them notice, that he intended speaking to them, one by one, to see what account they could give of their faith.—*Ibid.* At this time he began his "Observations on select Passages of Scripture turned into Catechetical Questions," printed in Vol. IV. of his Works.

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God, were the usual topics of their conversation. Once, after public sermon, Captain Mackay desired the soldiers to stop, whilst he informed them, that to his great shame, he had been a notorious swearer himself, but by the instrumentality of that gentleman, pointing to Mr. WHITEFIELD, he had now left it off, and exhorted them, for CHRIST's sake, that they would go and do likewise. The children were catechised; there was a reformation throughout the whole soldiery. The women cried, "What a change "in our Captain." The bad books and packs of cards, which Mr. WHITEFIELD exchanged for Bibles, and other religious books, (abundance of which were given to him to disperse by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*) were now thrown overboard; and a fever, that prevailed in general through the whole ship, helped to make the impressions sink deeper. For many days and nights, he visited betwixt twenty and thirty sick persons, crawling between decks upon his knees, administring medicines or cordials to them, and such advice as seemed suitable to their circumstances. The sailors did not escape the fever; Captain Whiting gladly went with him to visit them. One of them in particular, who had been a most notorious scoffer, sent for him in a bitter agony, crying out upon and lamenting his wicked life. The Cadet, who was a cabin passenger, being also seized, was wounded deeply, told Mr. WHITEFIELD the history of his life, and informed Captain Mackay of his desire to leave the army, and to return to his original intention (having had an University education) of devoting himself to the service of the Church of GOD. Mr. WHITEFIELD himself was also seized, but by the blessing of GOD, he soon recovered, and was strong enough, in about a week, to come out to the burial of the Cook of the ship, who had boasted, "That he would be wicked "still

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"till two years before he died, and then he would "be good." But he was suddenly taken ill, and died in about six hours.*

It was the beginning of May, when they drew near to land. After preaching his farewel-sermon, he arrived at the parsonage-house at Savannah, May 7, 1738, about four months after his first embarkation at Deptford.

Upon this voyage (many years after) he made the following reflection: "A long, and, I trust, "not altogether unprofitable voyage. What shall "I render to the Lord for all his mercies? Besides "being strengthened to go through my public work, "I was enabled to write letters, and compose ser-"mons, as though I had been on land. Even at "this distance of time, the remembrance of the "happy hours I enjoyed in religious exercises on the "deck, is refreshing to my soul. And though nature "sometimes relented at being taken from my friends, "and the little unusual inconveniences of a sea-life; "yet, a consciousness that I had in view the glory of "God, and the good of souls, from time to time "afforded me unspeakable satisfaction."†

One Mr. Delamot, who had gone volunteer with Mr. John Wesley, and was left behind him as school-master at Savannah, received Mr. Whitefield at the parsonage-house, which he found much better than expectation. Here some serious persons, the fruits of Mr. Wesley's ministry, soon came to see him. On the morrow he read prayers and expounded in the court-house, and waited upon the magistrates; but being taken ill, he was confined for above a week with a fever and ague.

When

* "This was the only adult, except a soldier (who had "killed himself at Gibralter by perpetual drinking) that died "out of all that were on board." M. S.

† M. S.

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WHEN he was recovered, and able to look about him, he found every thing bore the aſpect of an infant colony; and, what was more diſcouraging ſtill, he ſaw it was likely to continue ſo, by the very nature of its conſtitution. "The people (ſays he) were "denied the uſe both of rum and ſlaves. The lands "were allotted them, according to a particular plan, "whether good or bad; and the female heirs pro- "hibited from inheriting. So that, in reality, to "place people there, on ſuch a footing, was little "better than to tie their legs, and bid them walk. "The ſcheme was well meant at home; but, as too "many years experience evidently proved, was ab- "ſolutely impracticable in ſo hot a country abroad. "However, that rendered what I had brought over "from my friends, more acceptable to the poor "inhabitants, and gave me an ocular demonſtration, "which was what I wanted, when the hint was "given* of the great neceſſity and promiſing utility "of a future orphan houſe, which I now determined, "by the divine aſſiſtance, to ſet about in earneſt. "The Saltzburghers at Ebenezer, I found had one; "and having heard and read of what profeſſor "Franck had done in that way in Germany, I con- "fidently hoped that ſomething of the like nature "might be owned and ſucceeded in Georgia. Many "poor orphans were there already, and the number "was likely ſoon to increaſe.

"As opportunity offered, I viſited Frederica and "the adjacent villages, and often admired, conſid- "ering the circumſtances and diſpoſition of the firſt "ſettlers, that ſo much was really done. The ſettlers "were chiefly broken and decayed tradeſmen from "London,

* "It was firſt propoſed to me by my dear friend Mr. "Charles Weſley, who, with General Oglethorpe, had con- "certed a ſcheme, for carrying on ſuch a deſign, before I "had any thoughts of going abroad myſelf." Vol. III. page 453.

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" London, and other parts of England; and several " Scotch adventurers; some Highlanders, who had " a worthy minister, named Macleod; a few Mora- " vians; and the Saltzburghers, who were by far " the most industrious of the whole. With the wor- " thy ministers of Ebenezer, Messrs. Grenaw and " Boltzius, I contracted an intimacy. Many praying " people were in the congregation, which with the " consideration that so many charitable people in " England had been stirred up to contribute to " Georgia, and such faithful laborers as Messrs. " Wesleys and Ingham had been sent, gave me great " hopes, that unpromising as the aspect at present " might be, the colony might emerge in time out of its " infant state. Some small advances Mr. Ingham had " made towards converting the Indians, who were " at a small settlement about four miles from Savan- " nah. He went and lived among them for a few " months, and began to compose an Indian Gram- " mar; but he was soon called away to England; " and the Indians (who were only some run-away " Creeks) were, in a few years, scattered or dead. " Mr. Charles Wesley had chiefly acted as Secretary " to General Oglethorpe, but he soon also went to " England to engage more laborers; and not long " after, his brother, Mr. John Wesley, having met " with unworthy treatment, both at Frederica and " Georgia, soon followed. All this I was apprized " of, but think it most prudent not to repeat " grievances. Through divine mercy I met with " respectful treatment from magistrates, officers, and " people. The first I visited now and then, the " others, besides preaching twice a-day, and four " times of a Lord's day, I visited from house to " house: I was, in general, most cordially received; " but from time to time found, that '*Cœlum non ani-* " *mum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.*' Though

" lowered

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"lowered in their circumstances, a sense of what "they formerly were in, their native country, re- "mained. It was plain to be seen, that coming over "was not so much out of choice, as constraint: "choosing rather to be poor in an unknown country "abroad, than beholden to relations, or live among "those who knew them in more affluent circum- "stances at home. Among some of these the event "however proved, that the word took effectual root. "I was really happy in my little foreign cure, and "could have cheerfully remained among them, had "I not been obliged to return to England, to receive "priest's orders, and make a beginning towards "laying a foundation to the Orphan-house. And "thus the place I intended to hide myself in, became, "through my being obliged to return for these "purposes, a means of increasing that popularity "which was already begun, but which by me was "absolutely unforeseen, and as absolutely unde- "signed."*

About the middle of August, having settled one that came with him as schoolmaster in a neighboring village, and left his friend Mr. Habersham, at Savannah, after an affectionate parting with his flock, he set out for Charleston, in South-Carolina.

Here he paid his first visit to Commissary Garden, and at his entreaty preached the next Sunday morning and evening, in a grand church resembling one of the new churches in London. The inhabitants seemed at his first coming up, to despise his youth; but their countenances were altered before worship

* "During my stay there, the weather was most intensely "hot, sometimes burning me almost through my shoes. See- "ing others do it, who were as unable, I determined to enure "myself to hardiness, by lying constantly on the ground; "which, by use, I found to be so far from being a hardship, "that afterwards it became so, to lie on a bed." M. S.

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worſhip was over. Mr. Garden thanked him moſt cordially, and apprized him of the ill treatment Mr. Weſley had met with in Georgia, and aſſured him, that were the ſame arbitrary proceedings to commence againſt him, he would defend him with his life and fortune. He alſo ſaid ſomething about the colony of Georgia, that much encouraged him, as if he thought its flouriſhing was not very far off; and that Charleſton was fifteen times bigger now, than when he (Mr. Garden) firſt came there.

CHAP. IV.

From his embarking at Charleſton *for* London, *to his preaching firſt in* Moorfields, 1739.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1738, Mr. WHITEFIELD embarked in a ſhip bound from Charleſton to London. They had a very uncomfortable paſſage. For near a fortnight, they were beat about not far from the bar; they were ſoon reduced to an allowance of water; and the ſhip itſelf was quite out of repair. They were alſo very poorly off for proviſions. When they were about a third part of their paſſage, they met with a Jamaica-man, who had plenty of every thing. He ſent for Mr. WHITEFIELD on board, and offered him a moſt commodious birth; but he did not think it right to leave his ſhip-mates in diſtreſs, and therefore returned to his own ſhip, with ſuch things as they were pleaſed to give him. The remaining part of the voyage was ſtill more perilous. The only thing comfortable, was, that in the midſt of theſe trials, deep impreſſions were made

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made on some that were on board. All constantly attended public worship twice, and some thrice-a-day. Once the Captain cried out, "Lord, break this hard "heart of mine." Others were impressed; particularly one Captain Gladman, a passenger, on whom a great change was wrought, and afterwards, at his own earnest request, became Mr. WHITEFIELD'S fellow-traveller. At length, after nine weeks tossing and beating to and fro, they found themselves in Limerick harbor.*

AT Limerick, Bishop Burscough received him very kindly, and engaged him to preach in the cathedral, the good effects of which he heard of many years after. From thence he went to Dublin, where he preached, and was courteously received by Dr. Delany, Bishop Rundell, and Archbishop Bolton, who had heard of him from a gentleman of Gibraltar. And after a passage of twenty-four hours from Dublin, he arrived at Park-gate, Thursday, November 30, preached twice on the Lord's-day at Manchester, and came to London the Friday following, December 8.

HERE he had a conference with the Moravian brethren, who were lately come to London; and though he could not directly fall in with their way of expressing themselves, yet he heartily agreed with them in the old Protestant Doctrine of Justification in the sight of GOD, by Faith alone in the imputed righteousness of Christ; and was not a little delighted to find a great increase of the work of GOD, both as to light and love, doctrine and practice, through

* "I wish I could never forget what I felt, when water, "and other provisions, were brought us from ashore. One "Mr. Mac Mahon, a country gentleman, came from his seat "at midnight, on purpose to relieve us, and most kindly in- "vited me, though unknown, to his house, to stay as long as "I pleased." M. S. and Journals.

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through the inſtrumentality of Mr. Charles and eſpecially of Mr. John Weſley.

Some of the clergy now began to ſhew their diſpleaſure more and more; ſo that in two days time five churches were denied him. And though the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhop of London, both received him civilly, it was but coldly: And the latter enquired "Whether his Journals were not "a little tinctured with enthuſiaſm?" He replied, that they were written only for himſelf, and private friends, and were publiſhed entirely without his conſent or knowledge, or ſo much as his conſent being aſked at all.* The Truſtees for the Colony of Georgia,

* It was certainly wrong to publiſh them, without his conſent and reviſal; otherwiſe, the publication of them was a very proper way to prevent the miſrepreſentation of facts, either by calumny and detraction on the one hand, or by exaggeration on the other. And it is a great pity he did not continue them. They would have been the beſt poſſible memoirs of his life. But we ſee how the offence given by, or taken at, ſome paſſages, might help determine him "to proceed (as he afterwards ſays) in a more compendious way." The Journals were, indeed, moſtly written amidſt his inceſſant labors in preaching, travelling, and writing a multitude of letters. And the whole was told with that unguarded ſimplicity, which though it charms the candid, and diſpoſes them to forgive or overlook many things, yet gives frequent handle to the critical and ſevere. It muſt alſo be owned, that his unſuſpecting honeſty made him ſometimes receive, with too little caution, the characters of perſons and ſocieties, from thoſe whom he took to be the friends of religion, and who perhaps, were really ſo, but were miſinformed. Being therefore convinced, upon ſecond thoughts, that both his Journals, and the two firſt parts of his Life, needed correction, he promiſed a new edition of them, which he accordingly publiſhed in 1756. And in the preface he ingenuouſly acknowledges, that upon a review, he had found "many miſtakes, (which "are now rectified) and many paſſages that were juſtly ex"ceptionable," (which are now erazed.) And in a note, upon

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Georgia, received him more cordially, were pleased to express their satisfaction at the accounts sent them of his conduct, during his stay in the Colony: and being requested, by letters sent unknown to him, from the Magistrates and inhabitants, they most willingly presented him to the Living of Savannah, (though he insisted upon having no salary) and as readily granted him five hundred acres of land, whereon to erect an Orphan-house; to collect money for which, together with taking Priest's Orders, were the chief motives of his returning to England so soon.

NEAR a month elapsed, before a board sat, to make him these returns. But during that interval, he was not idle. He and his brethren went on in their usual course, taking hold of every opportunity of doing good, and preaching occasionally as churches were allowed them.* And though the church wardens and clergy were averse, yet the common people were rather more eager than ever. But what surprized him most, was to see many of the heads and members of the London Societies, (who, by the accounts given by Dr. Woodward and Horneck,† he thought

on September 24, 1740, he says, "In my former Journal, "taking things by hearsay too much, I spoke and wrote too "rashly, both of the Colleges and Ministers of New-England; "for which, as I have already done when at Boston last, from "the pulpit, I take this opportunity of asking public pardon "from the press. It was rash and uncharitable, and though "well meant, I fear, did hurt." But these corrections, while they shew the author's candour and humility, do not affect the history of his extraordinary labors and success in the work of the Gospel.

* "GOD gave us a most pleasant Gospel Christmas season, "and such a happy beginning of a New Year, as I had never "seen before." M. S.

† See Dr. Woodward's Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London, &c.

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thought were founded on a good bottom) make such virulent opposition. However, numbers of them were of another mind, and other Societies were soon formed in various parts of the town. A large room in Fetter-lane, was the general place of rendezvous, where they had frequent meetings, and great satisfaction in social prayer.* At the same time, in the churches that were open, the people crowded, and were affected more than ever. And he and his brethren were so much engaged, that for some days he could walk, and preach, and visit Societies with very little sleep, and religious exercises seemed to be their meat and drink.

JANUARY 11, 1739, he set out for Oxford, to receive Priest's Orders from his good friend Bishop Benson, which he did the next Lord's day; and having preached and administered the Sacrament at the Castle, and preached again in the afternoon, to a crowded congregation, he returned to London, January 15.

As he had collected so much for the Charity-schools last year, he reasonably supposed that the pulpits would not be denied him for the use of the Georgia Orphan-house this year. But the religious concern advancing, and spreading more and more, opposition also increased. A pamphlet was published against his sermon *On Regeneration*. Several Clergymen made strong objections against him and his brethren, for expounding in societies; and some people were threatened with prosecution by their parish ministers, for suffering them to expound in their

* "It was a Pentecost season indeed. Sometimes whole "nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as "with new wine. And often have I seen them overwhelmed "with the Divine Presence, and crying out, "Will God, "indeed, dwell with men upon earth!—How dreadful is this "place!—This is no other than the house of God, and the "gate of Heaven!" M. S.

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their houſes. Yet this did not diſcourage either preachers or hearers. The more they were oppoſed, the more they were ſtrengthened. New awakenings were heard of in various parts; and "What ſhall I do to be ſaved?" was the repeated queſtion of every day.

ALL the pulpits were not as yet ſhut up: Two or three churches were allowed him to preach in, and to collect for the Georgia Orphans, and for erecting a Church for the poor Saltzburghers at Ebenezer. One Mr. Broughton behaved nobly on this occaſion. Application being made to him, to deny Mr. WHITEFIELD his pulpit, he anſwered, "Having got the Lectureſhip of St. Helen's by "Mr. WHITEFIELD's influence, if he inſiſts upon it, "he ſhall have my pulpit." Mr. WHITEFIELD did inſiſt upon it, but (Mr. Broughton loſing the Lectureſhip) he afterwards blamed himſelf much for his conduct.

IN Briſtol he had the uſe of the churches for two or three Sundays, but ſoon found they would not be open very long. The Dean was not at home: The Chancellor threatened to ſilence and ſuſpend him. In about a fortnight, every door was ſhut, except Newgate, where he preached, and collected for the poor priſoners, and where people thronged, and were much impreſſed; but this place, alſo, was ſoon ſhut againſt him, by orders from the Mayor.

BEFORE his firſt embarkation for Georgia, when he talked of going abroad, numbers in Briſtol uſed to reply, "What need of going abroad? Have we "not Indians enough at home? If you have a mind "to cōnvert Indians, there are colliers enough in "Kingſwood." And before he left London, whilſt preaching at Bermondſey church, and ſeeing ſo many thouſands that could not come in, he had a ſtrong inclination to go out and preach to them (though he

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he then used notes) upon one of the tomb-stones in the church-yard. And this he mentioned to some friends, who looked upon the motion, at first, very unfavorably; yet were willing to take it into farther consideration. At Bristol he thought he had a clear call to try this method. The colliers, he had heard, were very rude, and very numerous; so uncultivated, that nobody cared to go among them; neither had they any place of worship; and often, when provoked, they were a terror to the whole city of Bristol. He therefore looked upon the civilizing of these people; and much more, the bringing of them to the profession and practice of Christianity, as a matter of great importance.* After much prayer, and many struggles with himself, he one day went to Hannam Mount, and standing upon a hill, began to preach to about a hundred colliers, upon Matt. v. 1, 2, 3. This soon took air. At the second and third time the numbers greatly increased, till the congregation, at a moderate computation, amounted to near twenty thousand. But with what gladness and eagerness, many of these despised outcasts, who had never been in a church in their lives, received the word, is above description. "Having (as he "writes) no righteousness of their own to renounce, "they were glad to hear of a Jesus, who was a "friend to publicans, and came not to call the right-"eous, but sinners to repentance. The first discovery "of their being affected, was to see the white gut-"ters made by their tears, which plentifully fell "down their black cheeks, as they came out of their "coal-pits. Hundreds and hundreds of them were "soon

* "I thought it might be doing the service of my Creator, "who had a mountain for his pulpit, and the heavens for his "sounding-board; and who, when his Gospel was refused "by the Jews, sent his servants into the highways and "hedges." M. S.

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"soon brought under deep convictions, which (as "the event proved) happily ended in a sound and "thorough conversion. The change was visible to "all, though numbers chose to impute it to any "thing, rather than to the finger of GOD. As the "scene was quite new, and I had but just begun to "be an extempore preacher, it often occasioned "many inward conflicts. Sometimes, when twenty "thousand people were before me, I had not, in my "own apprehension, a word to say, either to GOD or "to them. But I was never totally deserted, and "frequently (for to deny it would be lying against "GOD) so assisted, that I knew by happy experience, "what our Lord meant by saying, 'Out of his belly "shall flow rivers of living water.' The open firmament above me, the prospect of the adjacent "fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, "some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in "the trees, and at times all affected and drenched in "tears together, to which sometimes was added the "solemnity of the approaching evening, was almost "too much for, and quite overcame me."*

BESIDES the colliers, and thousands from neighboring villages, persons of all ranks flocked daily out of Bristol. And he was soon invited to preach, by some of the better sort, in a large bowling-green in the city itself. Many indeed sneered to see a stripling, with a gown, mount a table, upon what they called unconsecrated ground. And for once, or twice, it excited the contempt and laughter of the higher rank, who formerly were his admirers, when he preached in the churches. But GOD enabled him to stand the laugh, and to preach the Gospel of CHRIST with earnestness and constancy; and was pleased to attend it with his blessing. From all quarters, people flocked under great concern about their souls. Sometimes he was employed almost

* M. 4. from

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from morning to night, giving answer to those who came in great distress, crying out, "What shall we do to be saved?" More assistance was wanted; he therefore wrote to Mr. John Wesley, who had never yet been at Bristol, and having received a favorable answer, recommended him and his brother, in the strongest manner to the people, and humbly prayed that the last might be first; for he was determined to pursue his scheme of the Orphan-house, and return again to his retreat at Georgia.

Mr. Wesley being come, he took an affectionate leave of his friends at Bristol, and made a second excursion to Wales, where an awakening had begun some years before, by the instrumentality of the Rev. Mr. Griffith Jones, and was now carried on by the ministry of one Mr. Howel Harris, a layman. They met at Cardiff, and in company with many others, went to Husk, Ponty-pool, Abergavenny, Comihoy, Carleon, Trelex, and Newport, and preached in all these places, Mr. WHITEFIELD first in English, and Mr. Harris afterwards in Welch, to many thousands. The serious persons among them, of the Free Grace Dissenters, rejoiced; but many of high-flying principles, and of another stamp, were equally enraged, and expressed their dislike by mockings and threats. All these, however, he was enabled to bear with patience, and without the least discouragement.

ABOUT the 8th of April, from Wales he went to Gloucester, the place of his birth, where a church was allowed him for once or twice, but no more. However, he preached frequently in Boothall (the place where the judges sit,) and in his brother's field, to many thousands.* His concern for his countrymen,

* At the time of Mr. WHITEFIELD's preaching in Gloucester, old Mr. Cole, a dissenting minister, used to say, "These "are the days of the Son of Man indeed." This Mr. Cole, Mr. WHITEFIELD when a boy, was taught to ridicule. And being

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men, his fellow-citizens, and his own relations, made him forget all bodily weakneſs (to which about this time, he was frequently ſubject,) and readily to comply with invitations given to preach at Painſwick, Cheltenham, Eveſham, Badſey, Stroud, Chaſford, places abounding with inhabitants, and where there is ground to hope, many received much ſpiritual benefit. To wander thus about from place to place; to ſtand at bowling-greens, at market-croſſes, and in high-ways, eſpecially in his own country, where, had he conferred with fleſh and blood, he might have lived at eaſe; to be blamed by friends, and have every evil thing ſpoken againſt him by his enemies, was (eſpecially when his body was weak, and his ſpirits low) very trying; but ſtill he was inwardly ſupported.

APRIL 21, he again went to Oxford; and, after ſtaying a few days with the Methodiſts there, came to

being aſked once by one of his congregation, What buſineſs he would be of? He ſaid, "A miniſter; but he would take care "never to tell ſtories in the pulpit, like old Cole." About twelve years afterwards, the old man hearing him preach, and tell ſome ſtory to illuſtrate the ſubject he was upon, and having been informed what he had before ſaid, made this remark to one of his elders, "I find that young WHITEFIELD "can now tell ſtories, as well as old Cole." He was much affected with Mr. Whitefield's preaching, and ſo humble, that he uſed to ſubſcribe himſelf his curate; and went about preaching after him in the country from place to place. But one evening, whilſt preaching, he was ſtruck with death, and then aſked for a chair to lean on, till he concluded his ſermon, when he was carried up ſtairs, and died. Mr. WHITEFIELD's reflection upon this, is, "O bleſſed God! if it be "thy holy will, may my exit be like his!"

As to Mr. WHITEFIELD's telling ſtories in the pulpit, ſome perhaps may find fault; but, beſide, that he had an uncommon fund of paſſages, proper enough to be thus told, and a peculiar talent of telling them; it was certainly, a mean of drawing multitudes to hear him, who would not have attended to the truths of the Goſpel, delivered in the ordinary manner.

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to London, where he attempted to preach at Islington Church, the incumbent, Mr. Stonehouse, being a friend to the Methodists; but in the midst of the prayers, the church-warden came, and demanded his licence, or otherwise he forbad his preaching in that pulpit. He might, perhaps, have insisted on his right to preach, yet for peace sake he declined; and, after the communion service was over, he preached in the church-yard.

Opportunities of preaching in a more regular way being now denied him, and his preaching in the fields being attended with a remarkable blessing, he judged it his duty to go on in this practice, and ventured the following Sunday into Moorfields.—Public notice having been given, and the thing being new and singular, upon coming out of the coach, he found an incredible number of people assembled.—Many had told him that he should never come again out of that place alive. He went in, however, between two of his friends; who, by the pressure of the crowd, were soon parted entirely from him, and were obliged to leave him to the mercy of the rabble. But these, instead of hurting him, formed a lane for him, and carried him along to the middle of the Fields (where a table had been placed, which was broken in pieces by the crowd,) and afterwards back again to the wall that then parted the upper and lower Moorfields; from whence he preached without molestation, to an exceeding great multitude in the lower Fields. Finding such encouragement, he went that same evening to Kennington-Common, a large open place, near three miles distant from London, where he preached to a vast multitude, who were all attention, and behaved with as much regularity and quietness, as if they had been in a church.*

* "Words cannot well express the glorious displays of "Divine Grace, which we saw, and heard of, and felt." M.S.

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CHAP. V.

From his preaching in Moorfields, *&c. to his laying the Foundation of the Orphan-houſe in* Georgia, 1740.

FOR ſeveral months, after this, Moorfields, Kennington-Common, and Blackheath, were the chief ſcenes of action. At a moderate computation, the auditories often conſiſted of above twenty thouſand. It is ſaid their ſinging could be heard two miles off, and his voice near a mile. Sometimes there were upwards of a hundred coaches, beſides waggons, ſcaffolds, and other contrivances, which particular perſons let out for the convenience of the audience. Having no other method to take, he was obliged to collect for the Orphan-houſe in the fields, or not at all, which was humbling to him, and his friends, who aſſiſted him in that work. But the readineſs with which the people gave, and the prayers which they put up when throwing in their mites, were very encouraging.* In the mean while, Mr. John Weſley was laboring with great zeal at Briſtol, his brother, Mr. Charles, in London and elſewhere, Mr. Ingham had been preaching in many churches of Yorkſhire, Mr. Kinchin in Oxford, and Mr. Rogers in Bedfordſhire. Thus the ſeed ſown was gradually increaſed, and the embargo which was now laid on the ſhipping, gave him leiſure for more journies through various parts of England; and GOD was pleaſed to crown his labors with amazing ſucceſs.

SOME demur happening in Briſtol, he went there

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* "Once upwards of twenty pounds were collected in "halfpence." M. S.

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a few days; put Mr. John Wesley (who had now made a progress in building the Kingswood school, and also had begun a room at Bristol) in full power; and took him along with him, and introduced him as a field preacher, at Gloucester and other places. Every where the word seemed to sink deeper and deeper into the hearts of the hearers. Singing and praying were heard in Kingswood, instead of cursing and swearing; and in many other places the fruits of righteousness evidently appeared.

Many false reports were now spread abroad, concerning him. Not a journey he could make, but he was either killed or wounded, or died suddenly. One groundless fiction was continually invented after another. And the Bishop of London laid hold of this occasion for publishing a charge to his clergy to avoid the extremes of enthusiasm and lukewarmness. But amidst these discouragements, he was not left without the countenance and friendship of several persons of influence.

The embargo being taken off, and upwards of a thousand pounds collected for the Orphan-house, he sailed the second time for America, August 14, 1739, with a family consisting of eight men, one boy, and two children, besides his friend Mr. Seward.

After a passage of nine weeks,* he arrived at Philadelphia in the beginning of November, and was immediately invited to preach in the churches, to which people of all denominations thronged, as in England. From thence he was invited to New-York, by Mr. Noel, the only person with whom he had any acquaintance in that part of America. Upon his arrival,

* For the manner in which he employed his time on board, see his Journals and Letters of this period.—A little before he sailed, he finished his Answer to the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter. And during the voyage, he wrote his Letter to the Religious Societies of England. See Vol. IV. of his Works.

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arrival, they waited on the Commiſſary; but he refuſed him the uſe of his church. Mr. WHITEFIELD there preached in the fields, and on the evening of the ſame day, to a very thronged and attentive audience in the Rev. Mr. Pemberton's meeting-houſe; and continued to do ſo twice or thrice a-day for above a week; and by all that could be judged, with very great ſucceſs.

ON his way to and from Philadelphia, he alſo preached at Elizabethtown, Maidenhead, Abingdon, Neſhamini, Burlington, and New-Brunſwick, in the New-Jerſeys, to ſome thouſands gathered from various parts, among whom there had been a conſiderable awakening, by the inſtrumentality of one Mr. Freelinghauſen, a Dutch miniſter, and the Meſſrs. Tennents, Blair, and Rowland. He had alſo the pleaſure of meeting with old Mr. Tennent, as well as his ſons, and with Mr. Dickinſon.* It was no leſs pleaſing than ſtrange to him, to ſee ſuch gatherings in a foreign land; miniſters and people ſhedding tears; ſinners

* "Mr. Tennent, and his brethren in preſbytery, intend "breeding up gracious youths for our Lord's vineyard. The "place wherein the young men ſtudy now, is a log-houſe, "about twenty feet long, and near as many broad. From "this deſpiſed place, ſeven or eight worthy miniſters of Jeſus "have lately been ſent forth, and a foundation is now laying "for the inſtruction of many others. The work, I am per-"ſuaded, is of God, and therefore will not come to nought." Journals, November 22, 1739.

The event has verified his judgment about this inſtitution. It is now a large college at Princetown in New-Jerſey: and has already had many worthy preſidents (ſome of whoſe names are well known in the learned world) ſuch as Mr. Dickinſon, Mr. Burr, Mr. Jonathan Edwards, Mr. Samuel Davies, Dr. Finley, and at preſent Dr. Witherſpoon, by whoſe abilities, care, and activity it is, under Providence, in a very flouriſhing condition.

And there has been lately (ſummer 1770) a remarkable revival of religion among the ſtudents, both in the college and grammar-ſchool.

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sinners struck with awe; and serious persons, who had been much run down and despised, filled with joy. Mean-time the Orphan-house affairs went on well. The things brought from England, were sold for their benefit. A sloop was purchased, of which Captain Gladman was master; and a young man, who had lately received serious impressions under Mr. WHITEFIELD's preaching, willingly offered himself as mate. Many little presents were made to his family for sea-stores, and the intended house. And about the end of November, he took his leave of his family, and ordered them to proceed in their voyage to Savannah, while himself, with Mr. Seward and two more, determined to go thither by land.

NUMBERS followed, some twenty, some sixty miles out from Philadelphia. He preached at Chester, Wilmington, Newcastle, (where he was met on the way by Mr. Ross, minister of the place) Christian-bridge, and Whitely Creek, where Mr. William Tennent (whose meeting-house is in the neighborhood) had erected a tent for him. Here he observed new scenes of field preaching, or rather preaching in the woods, opened to him. At Whitely-Creek, perhaps the congregation did not consist of less than ten thousand. Earnest invitations were given him to come and preach elsewhere; which he had great encouragement to do from the visible success of his labors; but he hasted to be with his family at Savannah.

In his way thither, he also preached in Maryland, at North-East and Joppa, and at Annapolis, the capital, where he was received with much civility by the Governor; and at Upper-Marlborough.

IN Virginia also, he preached at Williamsburgh, where he was courteously received by the Governor, and by Mr. Blair, the Commissary, whom he speaks of with great regard.

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When he came to North-Carolina, he thought it seemed to be the greatest waste, and the most unculcivated of spots, both in a temporal and spiritual sense. Yet here, in a place called Newbern-Town, his preaching was attended with an uncommon influence. And it was not without effect at Newton, on Cape-Fear river, where were many from Scotland amongst the congregation, who had lately come over to settle in North-Carolina.

Immediately on coming into South-Carolina province, (he says) a visible change was observable in the manners of the people. And when he came to Charleston, (which was on Saturday, January 3, 1740) he could scarce believe but he was amongst Londoners, both in respect of gaiety of dress, and politeness of manners.

Here he soon perceived, that by field-preaching he had lost his old friend the Commissary, who once promised to defend him with life and fortune. However, at the request of the Independent minister, (who continued his friend to his dying day,) he preached in his meeting-house. At the first sermon, all was gay and trifling, no impression seemingly made at all. But next morning in the French church, the scene was quite altered. A visible and almost universal concern appeared. Many of the inhabitants earnestly desired him to give them one sermon more; for which purpose he was prevailed upon to put off his journey till the next day; and there was reason to think his stay was not in vain.

Next morning, he and his companions set out in an open canoe for Savannah; and in their way, for the first time, lay in the woods, upon the ground, near a large fire, which keeps off the wild beasts; upon which he makes this reflection,* "An emblem, "I thought of the divine love and presence keeping "off evils and corruptions from the soul."

* M. S.

On

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On his arrival at Savannah, January 11, he was very happy to meet his family who had got there three weeks before him; and to find by letters from England, New-York, &c. that the work of God prospered. But it was a melancholy thing to see the colony of Georgia reduced even to a much lower ebb than when he left it, and almost deserted by all but such as could not well go away. Employing these, therefore, he thought would be of singular service, and the money expended, might be also a means of keeping them in the colony.

Before his arrival, Mr. Habersham had pitched upon a plot of ground for the Orphan-house, of five hundred acres, about ten miles from Savannah, and had already begun to clear and stock it. The orphans, in the mean time, were accommodated in a hired house. On this, many years after, he makes the following reflections: "Had I proceeded ac-
"cording to the rules of prudence, I should have first
"cleared the land, built the house, and then taken
"in the orphans; but I found their condition so
"pitiable, and the inhabitants so poor, that I imme-
"diately opened an infirmary, hired a large house at
"a great rent, and took in, at different times,
"twenty-four orphans. To all this I was encou-
"raged, by the example of Professor Franck. But
"I forgot to recollect, that Professor Franck built in
"Glaucha, in a populous country, and that I was
"building in the very tail of the world, where I
"could not expect the least supply, and which the
"badness of its constitution, which every day I ex-
"pected would be altered, rendered by far the most
"expensive part of all his Majesty's dominions.—
"But had I received more and ventured less, I should
"have suffered less, and others more."*

The first collection he made in America, was at the Rev. Mr. Smith's meeting-house in Charleston,

* M. S. whither

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whither he went about the middle of March, to see his brother, the Captain of a ship from England. He was desired, by some of the inhabitants, to speak in behalf of the poor orphans; and the collection amounted to seventy pounds sterling. This was no small encouragement to him at that time, especially as he had reason to think it came from those who had received spiritual benefit by his ministrations.

HAVING returned to Savannah, he went to the spot of ground where he intended the Orphan house should be built; and, upon the 25th day of March, 1740, laid the first brick of the great house, which he called BETHESDA, i. e. *a house of mercy*.* By this time, near forty children were taken in, to be provided with food and raiment; and counting the workmen and all, he had near a hundred to be daily fed. He had very little money in bank; and yet he was not discouraged; being persuaded, that the best thing he could do at present for the infant colony, was to carry on the work.

* Long after this he writes, "Blessed be God, I have not "been disappointed in the hope, that it would be a house, and "place of mercy to many, both in respect to body and soul." M. S.

CHAP.

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CHAP. VI.

From his laying the Foundation of the Orphan-houſe in Georgia, *to his Arrival in* England, 1741.

MR. WHITEFIELD again, therefore, ſet off in a ſloop for Newcaſtle in Pennſylvania, where he arrived about the middle of April. In this ſhort paſſage of ten days, he was much diſcouraged both by weakneſs of body, and low ſpirits. But, as he obſerved afterwards, Providence was infinitely better to him than his fears, and exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. For, during the ſpace of two months, he was ſtrengthened to preach, generally twice, and frequently, beſides travelling, thrice a-day. At Philadelphia, the churches were no longer allowed him; but he preached in the fields to congregations that conſiſted ſometimes of near ten thouſand, and with great apparent ſucceſs. Large collections were made for the Orphan-houſe; once, not leſs than an hundred and ten pounds ſterling. Societies for praying and ſinging were ſet on foot; and in every part of the town, many were concerned about their ſalvation. Some were wrought upon in a more inſtantaneous, others in a more progreſſive, ſome in a more ſilent, others in a more violent manner.*

AT New-York, New-Brunſwick, Staten-Iſland, Baſkingridge, Whitely-Creek, Frogs-Manor, Reedy-Iſland, there was great concern, upon the mind both of the preacher and hearers.

SOME-

* "Many negroes came; ſome of them enquiring, "Have I a ſoul?" M. S.

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SOMETIMES he was almoſt dead with heat and fatigue. Thrice a-day he was lifted up upon his horſe, unable to mount otherwiſe; then rode and preached, and came in and laid himſelf along upon two or three chairs. He did not doubt but ſuch a courſe would ſoon take him to his deſired reſt. Yet he had many delightful hours with Meſſrs. Tennents, Blair, &c. "Night ſays he, was as it were turned "into day, when we rode ſinging through the woods. "I could not help recommending theſe men, wherever "I went, in the ſtrongeſt manner, becauſe I ſaw they "gloried in the croſs of Chriſt*."

WITH

*M. S. In a journal written by Mr. William Seward, (Mr. WHITEFIELD's companion in travel) we have the following particulars belonging to this period.

"April 9, 1740. Mr. WHITEFIELD propoſed my going to England upon ſeveral important affairs, particularly to bring over Mr. Hutchins to take care of the Orphan-houſe in his abſence—To acquaint the Truſtees of Georgia with the ſtate of the colony, and the means under God, for the better eſtabliſhment thereof, it being now upheld almoſt wholly by the ſoldiery and Orphan-houſe, moſt of the people who are unconcerned in either, being gone or going—The proper means are principally three. 1. An allowance of negroes. 2. A free title to the lands. 3. An independent magiſtracy, viz. ſuch as are able and willing to ſerve without fee or reward. My buſineſs with the Truſtees will be farther, to bring over the money lodged in their hands for building the church at Savannah. I am moreover, to collect ſubſcriptions for a negro ſchool in Pennſylvania, where our brother WHITEFIELD propoſes to take up land in order to ſettle a town for the reception of ſuch Engliſh friends whoſe hearts God ſhall incline to come and ſettle there.

"April 13. Mr. Tennent informed us of the great ſucceſs which had attended our brother WHITEFIELD's preaching, when here laſt. For ſome time, a general ſilence was fixed by the LORD on people's minds, and many began ſeriouſly to think on what foundation they ſtood—A general outward reformation has been viſible. Many miniſters have been quickened in their zeal to preach the word in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon. Congregations are increaſed, and ſome few, it is hoped,

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WITH great joy he reached Savannah on the 5th of June, bringing his orphans, in money and provisions, upwards of five hundred pounds sterling. Next day, when they came to public worship, young and old were

hoped, will be brought, through their convictions, into a sound and saving conversion.

"April 14. Mr. Jones, the Baptist minister, told us of two other ministers, Mr. Treat and Mr. Morgan, who were so affected with our brother WHITEFIELD's spirit, that the latter had gone forth, preaching the glad tidings of salvation, towards the sea coast in the Jerseys, and many other places which lay in darkness and the shadow of death. The former told his congregation, that he had been hitherto deceiving himself and them; and that he could not preach to them at present, but desired they would join in prayer with him.

"April 15. We were informed that an Indian trader was so affected with brother WHITEFIELD's doctrine, that he is gone to teach the Indians, with whom he used to trade.

"April 18. This day was published our brother WHITEFIELD's Letter to the Inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, about their abuse of the poor negroes. (See his Works, Vol. IV.)

"Heard of a drinking club that had a negro boy attending them, who used to mimic people for their diversion. The gentlemen bid him mimic our brother WHITEFIELD which he was very unwilling to do; but they insisting upon it, he stood up and said, "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not; unless you repent you will all be damned." This unexpected speech broke up the club, which has not met since.

"—Notice was given of a new lecture at German-Town every Thursday, by four ministers.

"April 22. Agreed with Mr. Allen for five thousand acres of land on the forks of Delaware, at 2200l. sterling, the conveyance to be made to Mr. WHITEFIELD, and after that assigned to me, as security for my advancing the money.—Mr. WHITEFIELD proposes to give orders for building the negro school on the purchased land, before he leaves the province.

"April 24. Came to Christopher Wigner's plantation in Shippack, where many Dutch people are settled, and where the famous Mr. Spalemburg resided lately. It was surprizing to see such a multitude of people gathered together in such a wilderness

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were all diſſolved in tears. Some, who came to viſit them, were alſo deeply impreſſed; particularly Mr. Hugh Bryan and his family,* and ſome of his relations.

wilderneſs country, thirty miles diſtant from Philadelphia.—Our brother was exceedingly carried out in his ſermon, to preſs poor ſinners to come to Chriſt by faith, and claim all their privileges; viz. Not only righteouſneſs and peace, but joy in the Holy Ghoſt: and after he had done, our dear friend Peter Bochler preached in Dutch, to thoſe who could not underſtand our brother in Engliſh.

"Before our brother left Philadelphia, he was deſired to viſit one who was under a deep ſenſe of ſin from hearing him preach. And in praying with this perſon, he was ſo carried beyond himſelf, that the whole company (which were about twenty) ſeemed to be filled with the Holy Ghoſt, and magnified the God of heaven.

"April 25. Roſe at three o'clock: and though our brother WHITEFIELD was very weak in body, yet the Lord enabled him to ride near fifty miles, and to preach to about five thouſand people at Amwell, with the ſame power as uſual. Mr. Gilbert Tennent, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Wales, and Mr. Campbel, four godly miniſters, met us here.

"April 26. Came to New-Brunſwick.—Met Mr. Noel from New-York a zealous promoter of our Lord's kingdom. He ſaid their ſociety at New-York was increaſed from ſeventy to one hundred and ſeventy, and was daily increaſing; and that Meſſrs. Gilbert and William Tennents, Mr. Rowland, and ſeveral others, were hard laborers in our Lord's vineyard.

"April 28. Had a moſt affectionate parting with our dear brother WHITEFIELD, and our other brethren."

The reſt of Mr. Seward's Journal was written moſtly during his paſſage to England, where he arrived June 19, and with which it concludes. Mr. WHITEFIELD, in the new edition of his Journals, 1756, obſerves, "April 28, 1740. This "was the laſt time I ſaw my worthy friend; for before my "return to England, he was entered into his reſt, having left "behind, a glorious teſtimony of the transforming efficacy of "converting grace. This hath alſo been the happy caſe of "his brother Benjamin, who lately finiſhed his courſe with "joy."

* For a more particular account of Mr. Bryan's family, and of his viſit to Mr. WHITEFIELD, and what followed upon it,

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sions. Several from Beaufort in South-Carolina, then received their first impressions. All these things gave him great encouragement. And though his family was now great (near a hundred and fifty, including workmen) and the plan laid down would have required some thousands to support it; and although very often he had not twenty pounds in cash, he was still kept from being disheartened; and his friends believing the work to be of God, continued cheerfully to assist him.

THOUGH he was very weak in body, yet the cry from various quarters for more preaching, and the necessity of supplying so large a family, made him go again to Charles-Town, where, as well as at Dorchester, Ashley-Ferry, Ponpon, and John's-Island, he preached to very attentive and affected auditories. Charles-Town was the place of the greatest success, and of the greatest opposition. The Commissary poured out his anathemas, refused to give him the sacrament, and published some letters against him. But all in vain. He preached twice almost every day, to great crouds, in the Independent and Baptist meeting-houses; besides expounding in the evening in merchants' houses. Thus he went on successfully (though often ready to die with the excessive heat) till the end of August: when, having received most pressing invitations from the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, ministers in Boston; and being desirous of seeing the descendants of the good old Puritans, and their seats of learning; and having encouragement that something might be done for the Orphan-house, he embarked in the Orphan-house sloop for New-England, in company with several Charles-Town friends; and arrived at Rhode-Island, September 14.

HERE

it, See No. I. of "Living Christianity delineated in the Diaries "and Letters of Mr. Hugh Bryan and Mrs. Mary Hutson." Recommended by the Rev. Dr. Conder and Dr. Gibbons.

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HERE ſeveral gentlemen ſoon came to viſit him, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Clap, an aged diſſenting miniſter, in whom he thought he ſaw what manner of men the old Puritans were, who firſt ſettled New-England, and was much delighted with his converſation. They went together to the incumbent's houſe, to aſk the uſe of the church, which was granted: and in it he preached three days, twice a-day, to deeply affected auditories.

THIS he thought was a happy entrance into New-England. But he was ſtill more agreeably ſurpriſed, when, before he got to Boſton, he was met ſeveral miles from the city, by the Governor's ſon, and ſome of the miniſters, and principal inhabitants, who conducted him to Mr. St—nf—rd's (brother-in-law to Dr. Colman) who with his colleague Mr. Cooper, and many others, came and joined in prayer.

JONATHAN Belcher, Eſq. was then Governor of the Maſſachuſetts colony, and Joſiah Willard, Secretary. Both theſe gentlemen were his ſincere friends; ſo were the miniſters, Meſſrs. Webb, Foxcraft, Prince, Dr. Sewall, Gee, &c. To avoid, however, giving any juſt offence, he went to the Engliſh church to morning prayers; but finding, by converſation with the Commiſſary, and ſome other clergy, that there was no acceſs there, he began preaching in the afternoon, at Dr. Colman's meeting-houſe, and ſo went round (except when he preached on the common) to the other meeting-houſes, eſpecially the largeſt of them, for ſome time together.

GOVERNOR Belcher generally attended, Secretary Willard, and ſeveral of the Council, ſet the ſame example, and all ſeemed to vie who ſhould ſhow the greateſt reſpect. Congregations were exceeding large, both within and without; and were much affected. Old Mr. Walter, who ſucceeded Mr. Elliot, commonly called the Apoſtle of the Indians, at Roxbury,

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bury, said it was Puritanism revived: and Dr. Colman said, when preaching at his meeting-house the Sunday following, that "it was the happiest day he "ever saw in his life."

He preached also at Cambridge, Marblehead, Ipswich, Newbury, Hampton, York, Portsmouth, Salem, and Moulden, to large congregations. The gentlemen of the greatest repute had their houses open, in every place; collections were readily made for the orphans; and, in about a week, having preached sixteen times, and rode a hundred and seventy miles, he returned to Boston, October 6.

Here the congregations were still encreased. At his farewel sermon, it was supposed there were near twenty thousand people. He received a great number of letters, and could have spent whole days in conversing with those that came to him under soul concern. Ministers and students attended. Little children were impressed. The contributions for the orphans were very considerable, amounting in town and country, to near five hundred pounds sterling.

He set out next for Northampton: having read in England an account of a remarkable work of conversion there, published by their pastor the Rev. Mr. Jonathan Edwards; and having a great desire to see him, and to hear the account from his own mouth.

At Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough, Worcester, Leicester, Hadley, places all lying in the way, pulpits and houses were every where opened, and a continued influence attended his preaching. At Northampton, when he came to remind them of what God had formerly done for them, it was like putting fire to tinder. Both minister and people were much moved; as were the children of the family, at an exhortation which their father desired Mr. Whitefield to give them.

After leaving Northampton, he preached in Westfield,

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Weſtfield, Springfield, Suffield, Windſor, Hartford, Weathersfield, Middletown and Wallingford, to large and affected congregations. And October 23, reached New-Haven, where he was affectionately received by Mr. Pierpont, brother in law to Mr. Edwards, and had the pleaſure of ſeeing his friend Mr. Noel, of New-York, who brought him letters from Georgia. Here alſo he was much refreſhed with the converſation of ſeveral goſpel miniſters. It being aſſembly time, and the Governor and Burgeſſes then ſitting, he ſtayed till Lord's day, and had the pleaſure to ſee numbers daily impreſſed. The good old Governor particularly, was much affected and at a private viſit which Mr. WHITEFIELD paid him, ſaid, "Thanks be to GOD for ſuch refreſhings in our way "to heaven."

ON Monday morning he ſet forward, and preached with uſual ſucceſs at Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, and Stamford, where he was viſited by ſome miniſters under deep concern.

THIS was on the borders of New-York province, into which he now again entered, and preached at Rye and Kingſbridge, on his way to the city of New-York, where he arrived October 30. Here for three days ſucceſſively, and afterwards at Staten-Iſland, Newark, Baſkingridge, his preaching appeared to be attended with more ſucceſs than ever. At Trenton he had a long conference with ſome miniſters about Mr. Gilbert Tennent's complying with an invitation to go and preach in New England. After prayer, and conſidering the arguments both for and againſt this propoſal, they thought it beſt he ſhould go; which, however diffident of himſelf, he was perſuaded to do. And his miniſtrations were attended with an extraordinary bleſſing to multitudes, as is particularly narrated elſewhere*. SATURDAY

* See Prince's Chriſtian Hiſtory, or Hiſtorical Collections of the ſucceſs of the goſpel, Vol. II. where the facts are ſet down in the order of time.

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About

SATURDAY, November 8, Mr. WHITEFIELD came back to Philadelphia, and next day preached to several thousands in a house built for that purpose, since his last departure. Here he both heard of, and

About this time Mr. WHITEFIELD wrote his Letter to some Church-Members of the Presbyterian Persuasion, in Answer to certain Scruples and Queries which they had proposed. See Works, Vol. IV.

What sort of reception he had in New-England, will farther appear from the following letters of some eminent ministers of Boston, and adjacent towns, published by the Rev. Mr. Josiah Smith, of Charleston, in the South-Carolina Gazette.

October 1, 1740.

Rev. and dear Sir,

"Your kind letter by Mr. WHITEFIELD, and your other, are both now before me. You raised our expectations of him very much, as did his Journals more, and Mr. P. of New-York concurred with them; but we own, now that we have seen and heard him, that our expectations are all answered and exceeded, not only in his zealous, and fervent abounding labours, but in the command of the hearts and affections of his hearers.—He has been received here as an angel of God, and servant of Jesus Christ. I hope this visit to us, will be of very great use and benefit to ministers and people. He has found his heart and mouth much opened to speak freely and boldly to us, and he finds it received with joy." The same Gentleman, November 29, 1740, writes thus:—"Mr. WHITEFIELD left us seven weeks ago; the last week we heard of him at Philadelphia. I hear that much of the presence of God is with him.—He has left a blessing behind him, we hope, with us. Our people high and low, old and young, are very swift to hear. The excellent meekness of Mr. WHITEFIELD's Answer to the Queries, will honour him to you."

Another, in a Letter, October 22, 1740, expresses himself thus: "Though it is always a singular pleasure to me to hear from you, yet your two letters by Mr. WHITEFIELD, had a new circumstance of pleasure from the dear hand that presented them. I perceive you was impatient to know what

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and saw many, who were the fruits of his former ministrations; and continued among them till November 17, preaching twice a-day. Afterwards he preached in Gloucester, Greenwich, Piles-Grove, Cohansie,

what sort of entering in he had among us. We (ministers, rulers, and people) generally received him as an angel of God. When he preached his farewel sermon in our common, there were twenty-three thousand, at a moderate computation. We are abundantly convinced, that you spoke the words of truth and soberness in your sermon relating to him. Such a power and presence of God with a preacher, and in religious assemblies, I never saw before; but I would not limit the Holy One of Israel. The prejudices of many are quite conquered, and expectations of others vastly outdone, as they freely own.—A considerable number are awakened, and many Christians seem to be greatly quickened. He has preached twice at Cambridge; he has one warm friend there, Mr. ——, the tutor, who has followed him to Northampton, and will, for ought I know, to Georgia. But Mr. WHITEFIELD, has not a warmer friend any-where, than the first man among us. Our Governor has shewed him the highest respect, carried him in his coach from place to place, and could not help following him fifty miles out of town.—I hope the religion of the country will fare the better for the impressions left on him."——The same Gentleman writes, December 2, 1740. "The man greatly beloved, I suppose, may be with you before now. That his visit here will be esteemed a distinguishing mercy of heaven by many, I am well satisfied. Every day gives me fresh proofs of Christ's speaking in him. A small set of gentlemen amongst us, when they saw the affections of the people so moved under his preaching, would attribute it only to the force of sound and gestures. But the impressions on many are so lasting, and have been so transforming, as to carry plain signatures of a divine hand going along with him.—Another Gentleman writes, October 21, 1740, and thanks me for recommending to him, so worthy a person as the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, who has preached Christ, and the great truths of the gospel among them, with remarkable fervour of spirit, and to a general acceptance; and hopes that there are many awakened by his

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Cohanſie, Salem, Newcaſtle, Whiteley-Creek, Frog's-Manor, Nottingham; in many, or moſt of which places,

his miniſtry.—Another of the ſame date writes, That he had conceived very highly of him by ſome clauſes in my private letter, and the ſermon I preached by way of apology, &c. But, confeſſes he had not gone high enough in his opinion of him, and that his expectations are more than anſwered in him.—Another, November 21, 1740, "Bleſſes God that he was ſent thither; that he had ſo many opportunities of ſeeing him, and ſitting under his miniſtry. That he appeared to him a wonderful man indeed; that his preaching was accompanied with a divine power and energy, beyond any man's he had ever heard before: and the effects of his miniſtry were very marvellous among them."—I ſhall conclude with the following paſſage of another Gentleman, in a letter of November 1, 1740. "I received yours by the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, with whom I coveted a great deal more private converſation than I had opportunity for, by reaſon of the throngs of people almoſt perpetually with him.—But he appears to be full of the love of GOD, and fired with an extraordinary zeal for the cauſe of CHRIST, and applies himſelf with the moſt indefatigable diligence that ever was ſeen among us, for the promoting the good of ſouls. His head, his heart, his hands ſeem to be full of his Maſter's buſineſs. His diſcourſes, eſpecially when he goes into the expoſitory way, are very entertaining. Every eye is fixed upon him, and every ear chained to his lips. Moſt are very much affected; many awakened and convinced; and a general ſeriouſneſs excited. His addreſs more eſpecially to the paſſions, is wonderful, and beyond what I have ever ſeen. I think I can truly ſay, that his preaching has quickened me, and I believe it has many others beſides, as well as the people. Several of my flock, eſpecially the younger ſort, have been brought under convictions by his preaching; and there is this remarkable amongſt them of the good effects of his preaching, that the word preached now by us, ſeems more precious to them, and comes with more power upon them. My prayer for him is, that his precious life may be lengthened out, and that he may be an inſtrument of reviving dying religion in all places whitherſoever he comes, who ſeems to be wonderfully fitted for, as well as ſpirited to it."

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places, the congregations were numerous, and deeply affected.

NOVEMBER 22, he got to Bohemia in Maryland, and from thence he went to Reedy-Iſland. At both places his preaching was attended with great influence. And at the laſt (their ſloop being detained by contrary winds near a week,) he preached frequently. All the captains and crews of the ſhips that were wind-bound conſtantly attended, and great numbers crowded out of the country, ſome as far as from Philadelphia; and as great concern as ever came upon their minds.

DECEMBER 1, he ſet ſail from Reedy-Iſland for Charleſton in South-Carolina, and here he makes the following remark: "It is now the ſeventy-fifth "day ſince I arrived at Rhode-Iſland. My body was "then weak, but the Lord has much renewed its "ſtrength. I have been enabled to preach, I think, "an hundred and ſeventy-five times in public, beſides "exhorting frequently in private. I have travelled "upwards of eight hundred miles, and gotten up- "wards of ſeven hundred pounds ſterling, in goods, "proviſions, and money, for the Georgia orphans. "Never did I perform my journies with ſo little fa- "tigue, or ſee ſuch a continuance of the divine pre- "ſence in the congregations to whom I have preach- "ed. Praiſe the Lord, O my ſoul."*

AFTER a pleaſant paſſage of eight or nine days, and preaching again at Charleſton and Savannah, he arrived on the 14th of December at the Orphan-houſe, where he found his family comfortably ſettled. At Rhode-Iſland he had providentially met with Mr. Jonathan Barber, whoſe heart was very much knit to him, and who was willing to help him at the Orphan houſe. Him, therefore, he left ſuperintendant for the ſpiritual, and Mr. Haberſham for the temporal affairs; and having

* Journals, December 1, 1740.

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having spent a very comfortable Christmas with his Orphan family, he set off again for * Charleston, where he arrived January 3, 1741, and preached twice every day as usual, to most affectionate auditories, till the 16th of January, when he went on board for England. He arrived the 11th of March at Falmouth, rode post to London, and preached at Kennington-Common the Sunday following.

CHAP. VII.

From his Arrival in England, *in the Year* 1741, *to his leaving* Scotland, *the same Year.*

THE new and unexpected situation in which he now found himself, will be best described in his own words: "But what a trying scene appeared here! In my zeal, during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant, though injudicious letters, against England's two great favourites. The Whole Duty of Man, and Archbishop Tillotson, who, I said, knew no more of religion than Mahomet. The Moravians had made inroads upon the societies. Mr. John Wesley, some way or other, had been prevailed on to preach and print in favour of perfection, and universal redemption; and very strongly against election, a doctrine, which I thought and do now believe, was

* At Charleston, the Commissary was going to proceed against him for correcting and preparing for the press, a letter written by Mr. Hugh B——n, in which it was hinted, that the clergy break their canons. He also laid him under suspension for omitting to use the form of prayer, prescribed in the communion book, when officiating in a dissenting congregation.—But Mr. WHITEFIELD gave security for his appearance, and appealed home.

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was taught me of God, therefore could not possibly recede from. Thinking it my duty so to do, I had written an answer at the Orphan-house, which though revised, and much approved of by some good and judicious divines, I think had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation, which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred, than expressed. The world was angry at me for the former, and numbers of my own spiritual children for the latter. One that got some hundreds of pounds by my Sermons, being led away by the Moravians, refused to print for me any more. And others wrote to me that God would destroy me in a fortnight; and that my fall was as great as Peter's. Instead of having thousands to attend me, scarce one of my spiritual children came to see me from morning to night. Once at Kennington-Common, I had not above a hundred to hear me. At the same time, I was much embarrassed in my outward circumstances. A thousand pounds I owed for the Orphan-house. Two hundred and fifty pounds bills, drawn upon Mr. Seward, now dead, were returned upon me. I was also threatened to be arrested for two hundred pounds more. My travelling expences also to be defrayed. A family of a hundred to be daily maintained, four thousand miles off, in the dearest place of the King's dominions. Ten thousand times would I rather have died, than part with my old friends. It would have melted any heart to have heard Mr. Charles Wesley and me weeping after prayer, that, if possible, the breach might be prevented. Once I preached in the Foundary (a place which Mr. John Wesley had procured in my absence) on Gal. iii. but no more. All my works was to begin again. One day, I was exceedingly refreshed in reading Beza's life of Calvin, wherein were these words, "Calvin turned out of Geneva, but behold a Church

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a Church arises." A gentlewoman who lent me three hundred pounds to pay the present Orphan house demand: and a serious person (whom I never saw or heard of) giving me a guinea, I had such confidence, that I ran down with it to a friend, and expressed my hope, that God who sent this person with the guinea, would make it up fifteen hundred; which was the sum I thought would be wanted.

"NEVER had I preached in Moorfields on a week day. But, in the strength of God, I began on Good-Friday, and continued twice a-day, walking backward and forward from Leadenhall, for some time preaching under one of the trees, and had the mortification of seeing numbers of my spiritual children, who but a twelvemonth ago could have plucked out their eyes for me, running by me whilst preaching, disdaining so much as to look at me, and some of them putting their fingers in their ears, that they might not hear one word I said.

"A like scene opened at Bristol, where I was denied preaching in the house I had founded: Busy bodies, on both sides, blew up the coals. A breach ensued." But as both sides differed in judgment, and not in affection, and aimed at the glory of our common Lord; though we hearkened too much to tale-bearers on both sides, we were kept from anathematizing each other, and went on in our usual way; being agreed in one point, endeavouring to convert souls to the ever blessed Mediator *."

IN-

* About this time he was ordered to attend in the Parliament House, to give information concerning the state of the Colony in Georgia. "April 19, 1741. I have been at the Parliament House. The Georgia affair was adjourned. It was somewhat of a trial to be in the house. I then remembered

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In consequence of this, one Mr. Cennick, a preacher, who could not fall in with Mr. Wesley's sentiments, and one or two more in like circumstances, having joined Mr. WHITEFIELD, they began a new house in Kingswood, and soon established a school among them, that favoured Calviniſtical Principles. And here, and in several other places, they preached to very large and serious congregations, in the same manner as he had done in America.

THITHER he intended to return as soon as possible. Mean time, it being inconvenient, on account of the weather, to preach morning and evening in Moorfields; some Free grace Dissenters (who stood by him closely in that time of trial) got the loan of a piece of ground, and engaged with a carpenter to build a large temporary shed, to screen the auditory from cold and rain, which he called a Tabernacle, as it was only intended to be made use of for a few months, during his stay in his native country. The place fixed upon, was very near the Foundery, which he disliked, because he thought it looked like erecting altar against altar; but, upon this occasion he remarks, "All was wonderfully over ruled for good and for the furtherance of the Gospel. A fresh awakening immediately began. Congregations grew exceeding large, and at the people's desire, I sent (necessity reconciling me more and more to lay-preaching) for Messrs. Cannick, Harris, Seagrave, Humphries, &c. &c. &c. to assist*."

* M. S. FRESH

membered what the Apostle said, "We are become a spectacle to men." My Appeal will come to nothing, I believe. I have waited upon the Speaker. He received me very kindly."

Again, "He treated me kindly, and assured me, that "there would be no persecution in the King's reign."

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FRESH doors were now opened to him, and invitations sent to him from many places where he had never been. At a Common, near Braidtree in Essex, upwards of ten thousand persons attended. At Halstead, Dedham, Cossleshall, Weathersfield, Colchester, Bury, and Ipswich, the congregations were very large and much affected †.

At this time also, he was strongly solicited by religious persons, of different persuasions, to visit Scotland. Several letters had past between him and the Messrs. Erskines, some time before ‡, and he had a great desire to see them. He therefore took his passage from London to Leith, where (after five days, which he employed in writing many excellent letters to the Orphans, &c. he arrived July 30, 1741. Several persons of distinction most gladly received him, and would have had him preach at Edinburgh

† "Sweet was the conversation I had with several ministers of CHRIST. But our own clergy grew more and more shy, now they knew I was a Calvinist; though no doubt (as Mr. Bedford told me when going to the Bishop of London) our Articles are Calvinistical." M. S.

‡ See his Journals, and his Letters to the Rev. Mr. R. E. and the Rev. Mr. E. E.

In his last to Mr. E. E. before coming to Scotland he writes, "May 16, 1741. This morning I received a kind letter from your brother Ralph, who thinks it best for me wholly to join the Associate Presbytery, if it should please GOD, to send me into Scotland. This I cannot altogether come into. I come only as an occasional preacher, to preach the simple Gospel to all that are willing to hear me, of whatever denomination. I write this, that there may not be the least misunderstanding between us. I love and honour the Associate Presbytery in the bowels of Jesus Christ: but, let them not be offended, if in all things, I cannot immediately fall in with them."

To the same purpose he writes to Mr. R. E. May 23, 1741.

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Edinburgh directly; but he was determined that the Rev. Meſſrs. Erſkines ſhould have the firſt offer; and therefore went immediately to Dunfermline, and preached in Mr. Erſkine's Meeting houſe.

GREAT perſuaſions were uſed to detain him at Dunfermline, and as great to keep him from preaching for, and viſiting the Rev. Mr. Wardlaw, who had been colleague to Mr. Ralph Erſkine above twenty years; and who, as well as the Rev. Mr. Davidſon, a diſſenting miniſter in England, that went along with Mr. WHITEFIELD, were looked upon as perjured, for not adhering to the Solemn League and Covenant. This was new language to him, and therefore unintelligible.—But that he might be better informed, it was propoſed that the Rev. Mr. Moncrief, Mr. Ebenezer Erſkine, and others, members of the aſſociate Preſbytery, ſhould convene in a few days, in order to give him farther light.

IN the mean time, Mr. Ralph Erſkine accompanied him to Edinburgh, where he preached in the Orphan-houſe Park (field-preaching being no novelty in Scotland) to a very large and affected auditory, upon theſe words, "The Kingdom of God is not Meat and Drink, but Righteouſneſs, and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt." The next day he preached in the Weſt Kirk, and expreſſed great pleaſure in hearing two Goſpel Sermons from the Rev. Mr. Guſthart, and the Rev. Mr. Macvicar.—And the following day, he preached in the Cannongate Church, where Mr. Ralph Erſkine went up with him into the pulpit.

ACCORDING to promiſe, he returned with him to Dunfermline, where Mr. E. Erſkine, and ſeveral of the Aſſociate Preſbytery were met together, When Mr. WHITEFIELD came, they ſoon propoſed

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to proceed to buſineſs. He aſked them for what purpoſe? They anſwered, to diſcourſe, and ſet him right about Church Government, and the Solemn League and Covenant. He replied, they might ſave themſelves that trouble, for he had no ſcruple about it, and that ſettling Church Government, and preaching about the Solemn League and Covenant, was not his plan. He then told them ſomething of his experience, and how he was led into his preſent way of acting. One of them, in particular, ſaid he was deeply affected. And Mr. E. Erſkine deſired they would have patience with him, for that having been born and bred in England, and never ſtudied the point, he could not be ſuppoſed to be perfectly acquainted with it. But Mr. M. inſiſted, that he was therefore more inexcuſable, for England had revolted moſt with reſpect to Church Government; and that he being born and educated there, could not but be acquainted with the matter in debate. Mr. WHITEFIELD told him, he had never made the Solemn League and Covenant the ſubject of his ſtudy, being too buſy about matters which he judged of greater importance. Several replied, that every pin of the Tabernacle was precious. He anſwered, that in every building there were outſide and inſide workmen; that the latter, at preſent, was his province: that if they thought themſelves called to the former, they might proceed in their own way, and he would proceed in his. He then aſked them ſeriouſly, what they would have him to do? The anſwer was, that he was not deſired to ſubſcribe immediately to the Solemn League and Covenant, but to preach only for them, till he had further light. He aſked, Why only for them? Mr. R. E. ſaid, "They were the Lord's people." He then aſked, Were no other the Lord's people but themſelves? If not, and if others were

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the Devil's people, they had more need to be preached to; that for his part, all places were alike to him; and that if the Pope himself would lend him his pulpit, he would gladly proclaim in it the righteousness of the LORD JESUS CHRIST. Something passed about taking two of their brethren with him to England, to settle Presbytery there; and then with two more, to go and settle Presbytery in America. But he asked, Suppose a number of Independents should come, and declare, that after the greatest search, they were convinced that Independency was the right Church Government, and would disturb nobody, if tolerated, should they be tolerated? They answered, No.—Soon after this the company broke up. And Mr. M. preached upon Isa. xxi. 11, 12. "Watchman, what of the night? &c." And took occasion to declaim strongly against the Ceremonies of the Church of England, and to argue*, "That one who held Communion with that Church, or with the backslidden Church of Scotland, could not be an Instrument of Reformation." The consequence of all this, was, an open breach. Mr. WHITEFIELD retired thoughtful and uneasy to his closet; and, after preaching in the fields, sat down and dined with them, and then took a final leave†.

MANY.

* "I attended; but the good man so spent himself in the former part of his sermon, in talking against prelacy, the Common Prayer-Book, the surplice, the rose in the hat, and such like externals; that when he came to the latter part of his text, to invite poor sinners to JESUS CHRIST, his breath was so gone, that he could scarce be heard. What a pity that the last was not first, and the first last!"

† "Having dropt something about persons building a Babel, Mrs.—— said, it was a hard saying. Upon which, I replied,

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MANY waited at Edinburgh to know the iſſue of the conference, who were not diſappointed in the event. Thither he returned, after preaching at Innerkeithing, and the Queen's-ferry; and continued preaching always twice, often thrice (and once ſeven times a-day) for ſome weeks together. The churches were open, but not being able to hold half the congregations, he generally preached twice a-day in the Orphan-Hoſpital Park to many thouſands. Perſons of the beſt faſhion, as well as of the meaner rank, attended*; at ſome of their houſes he generally expounded every evening. And every day, almoſt, there were new evidences of the ſucceſs of his labors. Numbers of miniſters† and ſtudents came to hear him, and aged, experienced Chriſtians told him, they could ſet their ſeal to what he preached.

IN this firſt viſit to Scotland, he preached at Edinburgh, Glaſgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, Paiſley, Perth, Stirling, Crief, Falkirk, Airth, Kinglaſſie, Culroſs, Kinroſs, Couper of Fife; and alſo, at Stonehive, Benholm, Montroſe, Brechin, Forfar, Couper of Angus; and at Innerkeithing, Newbottle, Galaſhields, Maxton, and Haddington; and in the weſt country, at Killern, Fintry, and Balfrone. To other places to which he was invited, he did not go § at this

replied, I feared it was a true one, and that they would find the Babel fall down about their ears. I was never received into their houſe any more. Thus was I called to make another ſacrifice of my affections. But what I had met with in England, made this the more eaſy." M. S.

* Among his particular friends were the Marquis of Lothian, the Earl of Leven, Lord Rae, Lady Mary Hamilton, Lady Frances Gardiner, Lady Jean Nimmo, Lady Dirleton. See his Letters from Auguſt to December 1741.

† Particularly, one Mr. Wilſon, of Maxton.

§ Among theſe was Cambuſlang, and ſome places in the north of Scotland.

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this time. But (having collected above five hundred pounds, in money and goods, for his Orphans) he left Edinburgh in the latter end of October, to go through Wales, in his way to London.

CHAP. VIII.

Letters from Miniſters and private Chriſtians in Scotland, *repreſenting Mr.* WHITEFIELD'S *reception and ſucceſs there, in the Year* 1741.

HIS reception, miniſtrations, and ſucceſs at the principal places in Scotland, will farther appear from the following Letters.

AT Edinburgh, one of the miniſters of that city, thus writes to him. "April 20, 1742.* Rev. and Dear Sir, Knowing that many are careful to inform you, from time to time, what paſſes here, I have hitherto delayed anſwering your moſt acceptable Letter, until I ſhould tell you with the greateſt certainty, what were the bleſſed effects of your miniſtrations amongſt us; and can now aſſure you, that they were not more ſurpriſing than laſting. I don't know or hear of any wrought upon by your miniſtry, but are holding on in the paths of truth and righteouſneſs. They ſeem poſſeſſed of a truly Chriſtian ſpirit. Jeſus is precious to their ſouls; and like the morning light, they are advancing with increaſing brightneſs to the perfect day. Since you left Scotland, numbers in different corners have been awakened. Many in a hopeful way. Religion in this ſinful city revives and flouriſhes. Ordinances are more

* Glaſgow Weekly Hiſtory, No. XXVII.

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more punctually attended on. People hear the word with gladness, and receive it in faith and love. New meetings for prayer and spiritual conference are erecting every where. Religious conversation has banished slander and calumny from several tea-tables, and Christians are not ashamed to own their dear Lord and Master. Praise is perfected out of the mouths of babes and sucklings; and some stout-hearted sinners captivated to the obedience of Christ.

"I CANNOT easily express, with what pleasure I write these things; and doubtless, they will give you no less joy in reading them. Should not these droppings of the dew of heaven encourage our faith and hope of a plentiful effusion of the Spirit, which will at once change our barren wilderness into a fruitful field? Should not this hasten your return, that we may take sweet council together, and enter into the house of God in company? You are often on our hearts. We long to see you face to face. May much of your great Master's presence ever attend, and come along with you."

MR. George Muir, (afterwards the Rev. Doctor Muir,) late Minister of Paisley, thus wrote to James Aitken, school-master in Glasgow.* "Edinburgh, August 8, 1743. As you desire, I have with the assistance of Mr. Archibald Bowie, Mr. Dun, and the Sergeant, informed myself a little, with respect to the number and situations of the praying Societies in this place, which you will take as follows: They are, as near as we can guess, between twenty-four and thirty in number, some of which will necessarily be obliged to divide, by reason of too many meeting together; and that will increase the number. Amongst them are several meetings of boys and girls, who, in general, seem not only to be growing in grace

* Prince's Christian History, No. XXXIV.

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grace, but really increasing in knowledge. The little lambs appear to be unwilling to rest upon duties, or any thing short of Christ; as a young gentleman of my acquaintance told me, when under a temptation to think, that he was surely seeking some imaginary refuge, instead of the SAVIOR, he was made to cry out in prayer, 'Lord, I want nothing else, and will have nothing short of the very CHRIST of GOD.' There are several meetings of young women, who (although I never, as yet visited any of them) I am informed, hold on very well. The Sergeant tells me, that at one of these meetings, on the morning of the Lord's-day, he has known them all wet with floods of tears, melted down with love to CHRIST, and affection to one another for CHRIST's sake. I have myself been much ravished (when in a meeting in the room below, where some of these resort) to hear them sing the Lord's praises with such melodious voices. There are numbers of young men who meet for the excellent purpose of glorifying GOD, and promoting Christian knowledge; amongst some of whom I have the honor to be a member; many of them are Divines, who are useful in instructing the weaker sort of us; and that they endeavor to do with the greatest anxiety and desire. A good number of old men, substantial, standing Christians, meet for their edification and instruction, (the glory of their GOD being always their chief end) and are thereby often revived, and very much refreshed. The generality of these sorts above-mentioned, do walk very circumspectly, and really make it appear to the world, that they have been with JESUS: which is very much evidenced in their chearfully bearing reproaches for CHRIST's sake. And upon the whole, we hope there is such a flame kindled, as shall never be extinguished. And with respect to two particular societies, whereof Mr. Bowie

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Bowie is a member, he gave me the enclosed* in writing; which you will peruse and return. This is not all; for several country people are beginning to assemble together in little meetings, to worship their GOD: particularly, the Sergeant informs me of one about two miles from this place, where several ploughmen, and other illiterate persons, meet for the most noble ends and purposes; and are going most sweetly on, much increased in grace and knowledge, and some are daily added to their number. I am informed from the east country, (where there have been no societies since the secession) that about Old Cambus, six miles from Dunbar, many are now meeting together for social prayer, and mutual conversation about matters of religion, wherein the Lord

* To Mr. Muir. "Edinburgh, August 6, 1743. As you desire a short account of the two societies I am concerned in, I shall give it in a very few words. They consist of twenty-five, or twenty-six members each; and, except a very few, are all persons whose concern about religion began in the late awakening. I never saw the ends of such societies answered near so well, as among these. I think, I may safely declare, that I was never witness to so much of real Christian exercise among any persons I have known, as I have observed, to my great satisfaction, among most of them. It is most amazing to observe, how much some of them, who at their first concern, were brutishly ignorant of every thing good, have now made such advances in knowledge, that they excel those who were formerly before them. The concern about their own salvation is not only remarkable, but the abiding earnestness they show in their prayers, for the increase of the Redeemer's kingdom, is most desirable; and the care they show in watching over one-another, is one convincing evidence of their brotherly love, and true Christian tenderness. I might say a great deal more, but must conclude. I am, &c.

A. BOWIE."

There is also notice taken of some remarkable conversions, and of the reformation observed in the Edinburgh Hospitals, in Numbers X. XI. XV. of Glasgow Weekly History.

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Lord is with them of a truth. And in that place, there is more eager thirsting for the word, than usual, and the ministers are learning to speak with new tongues. And one of my acquaintance, who was in this place last winter, has happily been the Lord's instrument in beginning these societies. How beautiful and refreshing is it, my dear friend, to hear of so many following after the despised Jesus? Should we not take it as a token for good, that young ones instead of spending their spare hours in idle, vain, and unprofitable play, do now assemble, and join in calling upon the Lord. Is it not a good sign to hear many poor foolish virgins, (instead of being employed in the vanities of the generality of their sex) meeting together for prayer; and many prodigal youths, instead of revelling, and drunkenness, chambering, and wantonness, now breathing after the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and him crucified? O that the Lord would more and more exert his almighty power amongst us. There are several other societies for prayer, near about this city, prospering very well."

The Rev. Mr. Mac Culloch of Cambuslang, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield, a few months after his first visit to Glasgow;* "As it is matter of great joy and thankfulness to God, who sent you here, and gave you so much countenance, and so remarkably crowned your labors when here at Glasgow with success; so I doubt not but the following account, of the many seals to your ministry in and about that city, will be very rejoicing to your heart, as our glorious Redeemer's Kingdom is so much advanced, and the everlasting happiness of immortal souls promoted.

"I am well informed by some ministers, and other judicious and experienced Christians, that there are to the number of fifty persons already got notice of

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XIII.

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of, in and about Glaſgow, that by all that can be judged by perſons of the beſt diſcerning in ſpiritual things, are ſavingly converted by the bleſſing and power of GOD, accompanying your ten ſermons in that place; beſides ſeveral others under convictions, not reckoned in this number, whoſe ſtate remains, as yet, a little doubtful. And beſides, ſeveral Chriſtians of conſiderable ſtanding, who were much ſtrengthened, revived, and comforted, by means of hearing your ſermons; being made to rejoice in hope of the glory of GOD, having obtained the full aſſurance of faith.

"AMONG thoſe lately converted, here are ſeveral young people who were formerly openly wicked and flagitious, or at beſt but very negligent as to ſpiritual concerns, but are now in the way of ſalvation.—Some young converts are yet under doubts and fears; but a conſiderable number of them have attained to joy and peace in believing.

"SEVERAL lately wrought upon in a gracious way, ſeem to outſtrip Chriſtians of conſiderable ſtanding, in ſpiritual mindedneſs, and many other good qualifications: and particularly, in their zeal for the converſion of others, and love to the ordinances, without a ſpirit of bigotry, or party zeal.

"THESE converts by your miniſtry are diſcovered from time to time; a good many are but lately got notice of, that were not known before; which was partly occaſioned by their convictions not being ſo ſtrong and pungent at the firſt, as they proved afterwards, partly by the diſcouragement they met with in the families where they reſided, and partly by the reſerved tempers of the perſons themſelves, and their baſhfulneſs, becauſe of their former negligences and open enormities. Theſe things give ground to hope, there may be more diſcovered afterwards, that are not yet known.

BESIDES

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"Besides these awakened, by the power of God accompanying your sermons, there are others awakened since, by means of the great visible change discovered in their former intimate acquaintance, that were then converted, when they saw the change so remarkable, and the effects so abiding.

"Young converts are exceeding active to promote the conversion of others, especially their relations and near concerns, by their exhortations, and letters to distant friends in the country; and there are some instances of the good effects of these endeavors.

"They have all a great love to one another, and all good Christians, and a great sympathy with such of their number, as are under doubts and fears. Such of them as have not received comfort, by their earnest and deep concern, and close attendance on the means of grace, are hereby instrumental to excite Christians of older standing, to more diligence in religion.

"These, dear Brother, are a few hints of some of the most remarkable things, as to the success of your labors at Glasgow, by the divine blessing. May a rich and powerful blessing, give a plentiful increase to them every-where, where you come with the glad tidings of the great salvation."

At Aberdeen, one of the ministers of that city, thus writes of him, to a person of distinction.—October 3, 1741.* Honored Sir, At your desire, I shall not refuse, (however much reason I may have for declining to offer my judgment, or opinion, in things of this nature) to acquaint you freely of what I think of the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, or rather what is the opinion of persons of more acquaintance with the good ways of God.

"He is, I believe, justly esteemed by all who are personally acquainted with him, an eminent instrument of reviving, in these declining times, a just sense and

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XXVIII.

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and concern for the great things of religon. We have, of late, been much employed, and a great noise has been made about the lesser matters of the law: and are now much broken in judgment about things, many of which, I must own, I do not understand†. The cry has been, and still continues loud, 'Lo here is Christ, and lo there.' And now the Lord has raised up this eminent instrument, from a quarter, whence we could not have expected it, to call us to return to him; from whom, it is plain, we have deeply revolted. His being by education and profession of a different way, from what, I cannot but think, is most justly professed among us, seems to me, to add no small weight to his testimony; as does also his age. The Lord by this is, as it were, attracting our eyes and attention to one, who, had he been formerly of us, would doubtless like others, be despised. And yet, I cannot but look upon it as a sad instance of a departing GOD, that, instead of regard, he meets not only with contempt, but with opposition also, from those who ought to act a very different part. Did he preach

† Of those who differed from their brethren, as to their judgment about many things, was Mr. B——, one of the ministers of Aberdeen. After he had prayed and preached against Mr. WHITEFIELD, in his hearing, and quoted some passages of his first printed sermons, as heterodox: Sermon being ended, Mr. Ogilvie gave notice, That Mr. WHITEFIELD would preach in about half an hour. The interval being so short, the magistrates retired into the Session-house, and the congregation patiently waited, big with expectation, (says Mr. WHITEFIELD,) of hearing my resentment. At the time appointed, I went up, and took no other notice of the good man's ill-timed zeal, than to observe in some part of my discourse, That if the good old gentleman had seen some of my later writings, wherein I had corrected some of my former mistakes, he would not have expreſt himself in such strong terms. The people being thus diverted from controversy with man, were deeply impressed with what they heard from the word of GOD."—

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preach another Jesus, or another doctrine, he ought justly to be rejected: but this is not the case. And yet this very thing is advanced as an argument against him: It is said, he advances nothing new. And I allow it. This gives his friends joy. But these reverend gentlemen should mind, that there are two things in Gospel ordinances, purity and power. The first, in mercy, we still have in some good measure (though complaints of the want of this are very open;) but the last, we sadly confess the want of, and this is what attends the Gospel dispensed by him. And sure I am, that even the credible report of it should much endear him to all, who wish well to the interests of our dear, though too unknown, and altogether lovely Lord Jesus.

"His calmness and serenity under all he meets with, yea his joy in tribulation, is to me so surprising, that I often think, the Lord sent him to this place, in particular, to teach me how to preach, and especially how to suffer.

"His attachment to no party, but to Christ and true Grace alone, has long appeared to me a peculiar excellency in him. Christianity has been so long broken into so many different sects and parties, that an honest Pagan might justly be at loss, was he among us, where to find the religion of Jesus.

"One now appears, who loudly calls us (and whose voice the Lord seems to back with power) to look into the original plan of that religion we profess: sure nothing more just, nothing more reasonable. He tells us, wherein the Kingdom of God does consist. And yet how sad is it, he should be despised. Who knows but this may be the Lord's last voice to us, before he takes his kingdom from us?

"As to what you ask of his reception in this city; I invited him, nay, urged him, to undertake this journey, in consequence of a correspondence with him, for

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more than two or three years. I did it with the concurrence of a very few. His journey was delayed, till bad reports had imbittered the minds of almost all against him: so that when he came, I could scarce obtain liberty for him to preach even in the fields. All that I could do, was what I had resolved long before; I gave him with great pleasure, and full freedom, my pulpit, which, for that day, was in the church which our magistrates and principal people of note frequent. And at once, the LORD, by his preaching, melted down the hearts of his enemies, (except —— and ——;) so that, contrary to our custom, he was allowed the same place and pulpit in the evening of that day, and the other church as often as he pleased.

"WHILE he stayed among us in this city, he answered our expectations so much, that he has scarce more friends any where of its bulk than here, where, at first, almost all were against him. And the word came also with so much power, that I hope several of different denominations, will bless the LORD for evermore, that they ever heard him. And in his way from us, I saw in part, and have heard more fully since, what satisfies, that this was of the LORD, and for the good of many.——*P. S.* I suppose you have heard, that our magistrates waited on him while here, and made him free of this place; though that is a compliment rarely paid to strangers, of late."

MR. WILLISON, minister at Dundee, wrote as follows, to his friend at Edinburgh. "October 8, 1741.* Honored Sir, I am favored with yours, wherein you desire my thoughts of Mr. WHITEFIELD, and an account of his labors and success with us. Although my sentiments may be little regarded by many, yet when you put me to it, I think I am bound to do justice to the character of this stranger, which

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XIII.

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which I see few willing to do. I am not much surprized, though the devil, and all he can influence, be up in arms against the youth, seeing he makes such bold and vigorous attacks upon his kingdom and strong holds. As you, Sir, do observe it to be with you, so it is with us. He is hated, and spoken evil against, by all the episcopal party, and even the most of our clergy do labor, to diminish and expose him: this is not to be much wondered at, seeing his incessant labors for CHRIST and souls, is such a strong reproof to them; besides what he says publicly, against the sending out of unconverted ministers, and their preaching an unknown CHRIST; this must be galling to carnal men. I look upon this youth, as raised up of GOD for special service, and spirited for making new and singular attempts, for promoting true Christianity in the world, and for reviving it where it is decayed: and I see him wonderfully fitted and strengthened, both in body and mind, for going through with his projects, amidst the greatest discouragements and difficulties. I see the man to be all of a piece; his life and conversation to be a transcript of his sermons. It is truly a rare thing, to see so much of GOD about any one man. To see one so eminent for humility, in the midst of applause; for meekness and patience, under reproaches and injuries; for love to enemies; for desire to glorify CHRIST, and save souls; contentment in a mean lot, acquiescing in the will of GOD in all cases, never fretting under any dispensation, but still praising and giving thanks for every thing. It is rare to see in a man, such a flaming fire for GOD and against sin, when in the pulpit; and yet most easy and calm in conversing with men out of it; careful not to give offence to them, and yet never courting the favor of any. GOD has bestowed a large measure of gifts and graces upon him, for the work he is engaged in, and has made

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him a chosen vessel, to carry his name among the Gentiles, and to revive his work in several other churches. O that GOD may order his coming to poor Scotland, in such a cloudy time, for the same end! And who knows, but GOD might be intreated, if we could wrestle with him, notwithstanding all our provocations! Things appeared most unlikely, in other places, some-while ago, where now CHRIST is riding in triumph, going forth conquering and to conquer. This worthy youth, is singularly fitted to do the work of an Evangelist; and I have been long of opinion, that it would be for the advantage of the world, were this still to be a standing office in the church. And seeing the Lord has stirred him up to venture his life, reputation, and his ALL for CHRIST; refuse the best benefices in his own country, and run all hazards by sea and land, and travel so many thousand miles to proclaim the glory of CHRIST, and riches of his free-grace, of which he himself is a monument; and especially, seeing GOD has honored him to do all this with such surprising success among sinners of all ranks and persuasions, and even many of the most notorious, in awakening and turning them to the Lord; I truly think we are also bound to honor him, and to esteem him highly in love for his Master's, and for his work's sake, according to 1. Thess. v. 13. And for those who vilify and oppose him, I wish they would even notice a Gamaliel's words, Acts v. "Let him alone, lest haply ye be "found to fight against GOD:" Or rather, that they would regard the Apostle Peter's words, apologizing for his going in with the uncircumcised, Acts xi. when the Holy Ghost fell upon them; 'What was I 'that I could withstand GOD?' I have myself been witness to the Holy Ghost falling upon him and his hearers, oftener than once, I do not say in a miraculous, though in an observable manner. Yea, I have already

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already seen the desirable fruits thereof in not a few; and hope, through the divine blessing on the seed sown, to see more. Many here are blessing GOD, for sending him to this country, though Satan has raged much against it.

"THE LORD is a sovereign agent, and may raise up the instruments of his glory, from what churches or places he pleases; and glorifies his grace the more, when he does it from those societies, whence and when it could be least expected. Though Mr. WHITEFIELD be ordained, according to his education, a minister of the Church of England; yet we are to regard him as one, whom GOD has raised up, to witness against the corruptions of that Church; whom GOD is still enlightening, and causing to make advances towards us. He has already conformed to us, both in doctrine and worship, and lies open to light to conform to us in other points. He is thoroughly a Calvinist, and sound to the doctrines of Free Grace, in the doctrine of Original Sin, the New Birth, Justification by CHRIST, the necessity of imputed Righteousness, the operations of the Holy Ghost, &c. These he makes his great theme, drives the point home to the conscience, and GOD attends it with great power. And as GOD has enlightened him gradually in these things, so he is still ready to receive more light, and so soon as he gets it, he is most frank in declaring it.

"GOD, by owning him so wonderfully, is pleased to give a rebuke to our intemperate bigotry, and party-zeal, and to tell us, that neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but the new creature."—"*P. S.* Many with us are for preferring ministers, according to the party they are of, but commend me to a pious, CHRIST-exalting, and soul-winning minister, whatever be his denomination. Such are ministers of Christ's sending, and of such, he

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he saith, 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me, and and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;' which is a rule of duty to us*."

THE

* The compiler lately received a transcript from the diary of a very worthy Christian in Edinburgh, who died about two years ago, in which are the following passages. "*Sabbati*, August 9, 1741. What is surprising, is, that numbers of all ranks, all denominations, and all characters, come constantly to hear him, though his sermons abound with those truths which would be unwelcome from the mouth of others. He is indefatigable in his work. Three hours before noon he appoints, for people under distress to converse with him, when he is much confined. Then he writes numbers of letters. And this week he is to add a morning lecture to his work. I have reason, among many others, for blessing GOD for sending him to this place.

"*Sabbati*, August 30, 1741. Mr. W—d preached Monday-morning and afternoon, Tuesday-forenoon in the Canongate Church, evening in the park, and gathered 25l. 7s. 6d. for the poor Highlanders. Next day he went to Newbottle, and preached twice. On Thursday to Whitburn; Friday-morning at Torphichen; Friday-evening at Linlithgow; Saturday-morning and afternoon, both at Falkirk. And this day he is at Airth. To-morrow he will preach twice at Stirling. Culross, Tuesday forenoon; Dunfermline, afternoon. Wednesday, twice at Kinross. Thursday, Perth. From Friday to Monday, at Dundee. Monday, Kinglassie, and came to Edinburgh on Tuesday. Blessed be GOD, he seldom preaches without some one or other laid under concern. Surely GOD has sent him to this place for good. The Devil never raged more by his emissaries. It is remarkable, there never was a minister, no nor any other man, against whom the mouths of the licentious have been more opened. Since he came, I have found myself more desirous to be watchful, lest my foot slip at any time, and to guard against many things, which before I thought indifferent.

"Thursday, October 27, 1741. Yesterday Mr. WHITEFIELD left this place, to return to England. His departure was a great grief to many, whom the LORD has mercifully awakened, under his ministry, the number of which, I believe, is very great. Mr. W—d alone, among about thirty young communicants that came to converse with him, found about a dozen, who told him, They were first effectually touched under

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THE four preceding letters shew the acceptableness and success of Mr. WHITEFIELD's ministrations in most of the great towns in Scotland. As to smaller places, the following extract of a letter from the Rev. Mr. Thomas Davidson (his fellow-traveller) to the Rev. Mr. Henry Davidson of Gallashiels, dated Culross, December, 3, 1741, will be an agreeable specimen.

"OUR

der his ministry; and gave very good accounts of a work of God upon their souls. Some of the most abandoned wretches are brought to cry, 'What shall I do to be saved?' I have often had the opportunity of conversation with him, and, I think, I never heard him, or conversed with him, but I learned some good lesson. I do not remember to have heard one idle word drop from him, in all the times I have been in company with him; and others, that have been much more with him, give him the same testimony. On Tuesday last, he preached and exhorted seven times. I heard him to my great satisfaction, the fourth time, in the park. From that he went to the Old People's Hospital, to give them an exhortation; but indeed, I never was witness to any thing of the kind before. All the congregation (for many followed him) were so moved, that very few, if any, could refrain from crying out. I am sure, the Kingdom of GOD was then come nigh unto them, and that a woe will be unto them that slighted the offers of a Savior then made to them. From that, he went to Heriot's Hospital, where a great change is wrought upon many of the boys; for there, as well as in the Maiden-Hospitals, Fellowship-meetings are set up; which is quite new there; for the boys at that Hospital were noted for the wickedest boys about town. I was with him in a private house in the evening. When he came there he was quite worn out. However, he expounded there, which was the seventh discourse that day; and, what was very surprising, he was much fresher after he had done, than at the beginning.

"November 29, 1741. I had agreeable accounts of some of the children who were wrought upon by the ministry of Mr. W—d. I heard this day of a good many, that I heard not of formerly, who were not only laid under concern, but seemed to have a work of grace wrought upon their heart, appearing by a most remarkable change in their conversation,

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"Our journey to the North was as comfortable as any we had. In several places, as he came along, the Lord I thought countenanced him in a very convincing manner, particularly at a place called Lundie, five miles north from Dundee, where there is a considerable number of serious Christians, who, hearing that he was to come that way, spent most part of the night before in prayer together. Although his preaching there was only in a passing way, having to ride to Dundee after it, and it was betwixt three and four before he reached the place; yet he had but scarce well begun, before the power of God was indeed very discernible. Never did I see such a pleasing melting in a worshipping assembly. There was nothing violent in it, or like what we may call screwing up the passions; for it evidently appeared to be deep and hearty, and to proceed from a higher spring."

As a conclusion of this article, concerning Mr. WHITEFIELD's first reception and ministrations in Scotland, the reader will not be displeased to see the following extract from the papers of a gentleman deceased, who was eminent for learning and knowledge of the world, and who had a general acquaintance with those who professed the greatest regard to religion.

MESSRS.

tion, and eager desires after farther degrees of knowledge of the LORD's ways, which leads them to attend every opportunity they can have for instruction.

"*Sabbati*, December 6, 1741. Since Mr. WHITEFIELD's coming here, I find Christians freer in conversation than formerly; which is a great mercy both to themselves and all about them; the experience of which I have had by this past week, in several places where I have been. I had occasion to see a soldier, who was lately wrought upon by Mr. WHITEFIELD's means. He seems to have come a great length in a little time, and gives a very judicious account of the Lord's dealings with his soul."

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"Messrs. Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine correſponded with him for two or three years, and invited him to Scotland. But afterwards reflecting, that if they held communion with an epiſcopal miniſter, becauſe a good man and ſucceſsful preacher, they could not vindicate their renouncing communion with ſuch miniſters in the Church of Scotland: They wrote to him not to come. However, on the invitation of ſome miniſters and people of the eſtabliſhed Church, he came, and preached his firſt ſermon in Mr. Ralph Erſkine's pulpit at Dunfermline, (a town ten or twelve miles from Edinburgh, on the other ſide of Forth.) At a ſecond viſit to Dunfermline, he had a conference with all the ſeceding brethren, where he honeſtly avowed that he was a member of the Church of England, and as he thought the Government and Worſhip of it lawful, was reſolved, unleſs violently thruſt out of it, to continue ſo, rebuking ſin and preaching CHRIST: And told them he reckoned the Solemn League and Covenant a ſinful oath, as too much narrowing the communion of ſaints, and that he could not ſee the divine right of Preſbytery. On this they came to a Preſbyterial reſolution to have no more to do with him; and one of them preached a ſermon to ſhew that one who held communion with the Church of England, or backſlidden Church of Scotland, could not be an inſtrument of reformation. This, however, did not hinder multitudes, both of the Seceders and eſtabliſhed Church of Scotland, from hearing his ſermons. His ſoundneſs in the faith, his fervent zeal, and unwearied diligence for promoting the cauſe of CHRIST; the plainneſs and ſimplicity, the affection and warmth of his ſermons; and the amazing power that had accompanied them in many parts of England, and in almoſt all the North American Colonies, joined to his meekneſs, humility, and truly candid and catholic ſpirit, convinced them there

was

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was reason to think well of him, and to countenance his ministry. Conversions were become rare, little liveliness was to be found even in real Christians; and bigotry and blind zeal were producing animosities and divisions, and turning away the attention of good men from matters of infinitely greater importance. In this situation, an animated preacher appears, singularly qualified to awaken the secure, to recover Christians to their first love, and first works, and to reconcile their affections one to another.

"The episcopal clergy gave him no countenance, though some few of their people did. And in the established Church of Scotland, some of the more rigid presbyterians would not hold communion with him, on account of his connection with the Church of England, and his seeming to assume the office of an Evangelist, peculiar, in their apprehension, to the first ages of the church: while some, who affected to be thought more sensible, or more modish and polite, were mightily dissatisfied, with him for preaching the Calvinistic Doctrines of Election, Original Sin, Efficacious Grace, Justification through Faith, and the Perseverance of the Saints; and for inveighing against the play-house, dancing assemblies, games of chance, haunting taverns, vanity and extravagance in dress, and levity in behavior and conversation.

"Some gentlemen and ladies who went to hear, would not go a second time, because he disturbed them by insisting on man's miserable and dangerous state by nature, and the strictness and holiness essential to the Christian character. But, upon many of his hearers in Edinburgh, of all ranks and ages, especially young people, deep impressions were made, and many of them waited on him privately, lamenting their former immoral lives, or stupid thoughtlessness about religion, and expressing their anxious concern about obtaining an interest in Christ, and the sanctifying

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fying influences of the SPIRIT. In the greateſt part of theſe, the impreſſions have appeared to be ſaving, from their circumſpect exemplary conduct ſince that time, or from their comfortable or triumphant deaths. Many Preſbyterians begin to think more mildly and candidly than before, of the miniſters and members of the Church of England."*

* This year, 1741, he received the compliment of honorary Burgeſs Tickets from the Towns of Stirling, Glaſgow, Paiſly, and Aberdeen. And in 1742, from Irvine. And 1762, from Edinburgh.

CHAP. IX.

From his leaving Edinburgh 1741, *to his Return to that City in the Year* 1742.

MR. WHITEFIELD, having left Edinburgh in the latter end of October, 1741, ſet out for Abergavenny, in Wales, where, having ſome time ago formed a reſolution, to enter into the married ſtate, he married one Mrs. James,* a widow between thirty and forty years of age; of whom he ſays, "She has been a houſe-keeper many years, once gay, but for three years laſt paſt, a deſpiſed follower of the Lamb of God." From Abergavenny he went to Briſtol, where he preached twice a-day with his uſual ſucceſs. Upon returning to London in the beginning of December, he received letters from Georgia, concerning his orphan family, which, with reſpect to their external circumſtances, were a little diſcouraging. On the other hand, he had moſt comfortable accounts of the fruits of his miniſtry in Scotland. This made him think

* Her maiden name was Elizabeth Burnell.

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think of paying another visit there in the Spring. Meantime, he had the pleasure of seeing his labors attended with the divine blessing at London and Bristol. And from Gloucester he thus writes, "December 22, 1741.—Last Thursday evening the Lord brought me hither. I preached immediately to our friends in a large barn, and had my Master's presence. On Friday and Saturday, I preached again twice. Both the power and the congregation increased. On Sunday Providence opened a door for my preaching in St. John's, one of the parish churches. Great numbers came. On Sunday afternoon, after I had preached twice at Gloucester, I preached at Mr. F——'s at the hill, six miles off, and again at night, at Stroud. The people seemed to be more hungry than ever, and the Lord to be more amongst them. Yesterday morning I preached at Painswick, in the parish church, here in the afternoon, and again at night in the barn. God gives me unspeakable comfort, and uninterrupted joy. Here seems to be a new awakening, and a revival of the work of God. I find several country people were awakened, when I preached at Tewksbury, and have heard of three or four that have died in the Lord. We shall never know what good field-preaching has done, till we come to judgment. Many, who were prejudiced against me, begin to be of another mind; and God shows me more and more, that when a man's ways please the Lord, he will make even his enemies to be at peace with him. To-morrow morning I purpose to set out for Abergavenny, and to preach at Bristol, in Wilts, Gloucester and Gloucestershire, before I see London."

In the latter end of December he came to Bristol, where he continued near a month, preaching twice every day, and writing to his friends in London and Scotland. He also set up a general monthly meeting

to

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to read correſponding letters. From Briſtol he returned to Glouceſter, and January 28, 1742, writes —"On Friday laſt I left Briſtol, having firſt ſettled affairs, almoſt as I could wiſh. At Kingſwood I adminiſtered the ſacrament on Wedneſday night. It was the Lord's paſſover. On Thurſday we had a ſweet love-feaſt; on Friday the Lord was with me twice at Tockington; on Saturday morning I broke up ſome fallow ground at Newport; and in the evening preached to many thouſands at Stroud; on Monday morning at Painſwick, and ever ſince twice a-day here. Our congregations, I think, are larger than at Briſtol. Every ſermon is bleſſed."

On his way to London, Feb. 23, he was ſtill farther encouraged by receiving letters from America, informing him of the remarkable ſucceſs of the goſpel there, and that God had ſtirred up ſome wealthy friends to aſſiſt his orphans in their late ſtraits*. Upon his return to London, he went on with greater zeal and ſucceſs, if poſſible, than ever. "Our Savior (ſays he, writing to a brother, April 6, 1742) is doing great things in London daily. I rejoice to hear that you are helped in your work. Let this encourage you: go on, go on, the more we do, the more we may do for Jeſus. I ſleep and eat but little, and am conſtantly employed from morning till midnight, and yet my ſtrength is daily renewed. O free grace! It fires my ſoul, and makes me long to do ſomething for Jeſus. It is true, indeed, I want to go home; but here are ſo many ſouls ready to periſh for lack of knowledge, that I am willing to tarry below as long as my Maſter has work for me."

From

* "The everlaſting God reward all their benefactors. I find there has been a freſh awakening among them. I am informed, that twelve negroes, belonging to a planter lately converted at the Orphan houſe, are ſavingly brought home to Jesus Christ."

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FROM this principle of compaſſion to periſhing ſouls, he now ventured to take a very extraordinary ſtep. It had been the cuſtom for many years paſt, in the holiday ſeaſons, to erect booths in Moorfields, for mountebanks, players, puppet-ſhows, &c. which were attended from morning till night, by innumerable multitudes of the lower ſort of people. He formed a reſolution to preach the goſpel among them; and executed it. On Whitmonday, at ſix o'clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people he began. Thouſands, who were waiting there, gaping for their uſual diverſions, all flocked round him. His text was John iii. 4. They gazed, they liſtened, they wept; and many ſeemed to be ſtung with deep conviction for their paſt ſins. All was huſhed and ſolemn. "Being thus encouraged (ſays he,) I ventured out again at noon, when the fields were quite full; and could ſcarce help ſmiling, to ſee thouſands, when a merry-andrew was trumpeting to them, upon obſerving me mount a ſtand upon the other ſide of the field, deſerting him, till not ſo much as one was left behind, but all flocked to hear the goſpel. But this, together with a complaint that they had taken near twenty or thirty pounds leſs that day than uſual, ſo enraged the owners of the booths, that when I came to preach a third time in the evening, in the midſt of the ſermon, a merry-andrew got up upon a man's ſhoulders, and advancing near the pulpit, attempted to laſh me with a long heavy whip ſeveral times. Soon afterwards they got a recruiting ſergeant, with his drum, &c. to paſs thro' the congregation. But I deſired the people to make way for the King's officer, which was quietly done. Finding theſe efforts to fail, a large body, quite on the oppoſite ſide, aſſembled together, and, having got a great pole for their ſtandard, advanced with ſound of drum, in a very threatening manner, till they came near the

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the skirts of the congregation. Uncommon courage was given to both preacher and hearers. I prayed for support and deliverance, and was heard. 'For just as they approached us with looks full of resentment, I know not by what accident they quarrelled among themselves, threw down their staff, and went their way, leaving, however, many of their company behind, who, before we had done, I trust, were brought over to join the besieged party. I think I continued in praying, preaching, and singing (for the noise was too great at times to preach) about three hours. We then retired to the Tabernacle, where thousands flocked. We were determined to pray down the booths; but blessed be God, more substantial work was done. At a moderate computation, I received (I believe) a thousand notes from persons under conviction; and soon after, upwards of three hundred were received into the society in one day. Some I married, that had lived together without marriage. One man had exchanged his wife for another, and given fourteen shillings in exchange. Numbers, that seemed as it were to have been bred up for Tyburn, were at that time plucked as firebrands out of the burning."

"I cannot help adding, that several little boys and girls, who were fond of sitting round me on the pulpit, while I preached, and handing to me people's notes, though they were often pelted with eggs, dirt, &c. thrown at me, never once gave way; but on the contrary, every time I was struck, turned up their little weeping eyes, and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me. God make them, in their growing years, great and living martyrs for him, who out of the mouth of babes and sucklings perfects praise."

CHAP.

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CHAP. X.

From his Arrival in Scotland, 1742, *to his Return to* London *the ſame Year.*

SOON after this, he embarked a ſecond time for Scotland, and arrived at Leith, June 3, 1742.*

But here it is proper to take a view of the ſtate of things in that country upon his arrival. It had pleaſed GOD to bleſs his firſt viſit to Scotland, not only for the converſion of particular perſons, and the comfort and quickening of private Chriſtians, but to rouſe them to more than ordinary concern about the ſalvation of their neighbours, and to excite pious and conſcientious

* "Edinburgh, Sabbath, June 6, 1742. On Thurſday laſt our dear friend Mr. WHITEFIELD returned to this place, to the great comfort of many honeſt Chriſtians, eſpecially of thoſe to whom he was made a mean of conviction and converſion when laſt here.—He ſeems to have improved much in Chriſtian knowledge. He is much refreſhed with the accounts of the work of GOD in the weſt country.—I have heard him preach five excellent diſcourſes, all calculated for the building up of Chriſtians (though he never fails to put in a word for the conviction of ſinners;) and, I think, can ſay, that I have never heard him without ſome influence attending his preaching, eſpecially in private houſes. O may the impreſſions made on my heart never wear off, leſt at any time I ſhould be in danger of dropping my watch, and becoming untender."

"Sabb. October 17, 1742. It is a great recommendation of Mr. WHITEFIELD to me, that though the Seceders give him every bad character that can be deviſed, viz. a ſorcerer, &c. yet he takes all patiently, and where-ever he goes, ſpeaks well of them, ſo far as he can: for none can approve of thoſe groſs parts of their conduct: therefore theſe he chooſes to caſt a mantle of love over." Diary formerly quoted.

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conſcientious miniſters to greater diligence in their work. Prayers were put up, with ſome degree of faith and hope, that GOD would now give ſucceſs to their labors; and not ſuffer them always to complain that they ſpent their ſtrength in vain. Nor were theſe prayers long unanſwered: for in the month of February, 1742, an extraordinary religious concern began to appear publicly at Cambuſlang; and ſoon after at Kilſyth and other places: the news of which ſpread quickly through the land, and engaged general attention. Of this a juſt, though ſhort deſcription is given in the following letter, written by the Rev. Mr. Hamilton (then miniſter in the Barony pariſh, now in the High-Church of Glaſgow) to Mr. Prince, miniſter in Boſton.* "Glaſgow, Sept. 3, 1742. We in the ſouth and weſt of Scotland, have great reaſon to join in thankfulneſs to God, with you, for the days of the REDEEMER's power that we are favored with. Mr. WHITEFIELD came to Scotland in ſummer 1741, for the firſt time: and in many places where he preached, his miniſtrations were evidently bleſſed, particularly in the cities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow, where a conſiderable number of perſons were brought under ſuch impreſſions of religion, as have never yet left them; but they are ſtill following on to know the LORD. However, this was only the beginning of far greater things: for about the middle of February laſt, a very great concern appeared among the people of Cambuſlang, a ſmall pariſh, lying four miles ſouth-eaſt of Glaſgow, under the paſtoral inſpection of the Rev. Mr. William MacCulloch, a man of conſiderable parts and great piety. This concern appeared with ſome circumſtances very unuſual among us: to wit, ſevere bodily agonies, out-cryings, and faintings in the congregation. This made the report of it ſpread like fire, and drew vaſt multitudes of people from all quarters to that

* Prince's Chriſtian Hiſtory, No. X.

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that place. And, I believe, in less than two months after the commencement of it, there were few parishes within twelve miles of Cambuslang, but had some, more or fewer awakened there, to a very deep, piercing sense of sin: and many at a much greater distance. I am verily persuaded with your worthy brother Mr. Cooper, in his preface to Mr. Edward's sermon, that God has made use of these uncommon circumstances, to make his work spread the faster. But, blessed be GOD, Cambuslang is not the only place where these impressions are got. The same work is spreading in other parishes, and under their own ministers, particularly at Caulder, Kilsyth, and Cumbernauld, all to the north, and north-east of Glasgow. And I doubt not, that since the middle of February, when this work began at Cambuslang, there are upwards of two thousand persons awakened, and almost all of them, by the best accounts I have, in a promising condition; there being very few instances of impostors, or such as have lost their impressions; and many whom we are bound to think are true Scripture converts, and evidencing it by a suitable walk and conversation. There is evidently a greater seriousness and concern about religion appearing in most of our congregations than formerly: a greater desire after the word; people applying themselves more closely to their duty; and erecting new societies for prayer and spiritual conference: which gives us the joyful prospect of a considerable enlargement in the Messiah's kingdom.

My parish has likewise had some share in this good work. There has been above an hundred new communicants among them, this summer, who never did partake of the blessed sacrament before: which is five times as many as ever I admitted in any former year: most of them were awakened at Cambuslang; some of them in their own church; and in others the impressions have been more gradual, and not attended with

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with these uncommon circumstances before-mentioned. And it is to be observed, that before we admit any person to the LORD's table, we particularly examine them, and are satisfied with their knowledge of the principles of religion, of the nature and ends of the sacrament, and the impressions of religion they have on their minds."*

To the same purpose is the Rev. Mr. Willison's letter to Dr. Colman, minister in Boston: dated Dundee, Feb. 28, 1743.† "I must inform you a little of the work of GOD begun here. I told you in my last, that after Mr. WHITEFIELD's first coming and preaching three months in Scotland, there were some beginnings of a revival of religion in some of our principal cities, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, which still continue and increase, especially since Mr. WHITEFIELD's second coming in June last. But besides these cities, the Lord hath been pleased to begin a work much like that in New-England, in several places in the west of Scotland. The first parish awakened, was Cambuslang; the next was the parish of Kilsyth, about nine miles north-east of Glasgow, and afterwards the parishes of Calder, Kirkintilloch, Cumbernaud, Campsie, Kilmarnock, Gargunnock, and a great many others in the country.

The

* Extract of a Letter from a person of distinction to the Compiler.

"Edinburgh, February, 1772. I would not ascribe all the revival of religion in Scotland, to (the instrumentality of) Mr. WHITEFIELD. At Cambuslang, it began, before he had been there; but in Edinburgh, and all the other places in Scotland, that I heard of, after diligent enquiry, it began with his first visit. This honor he had from his divine Master, and it ought not to be taken from him. And every time he came to Scotland, it is an undoubted fact, that an uncommon power attended his ministry; and many were always brought under serious and lasting impressions."

† Prince's Christian History, No. XI.

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The awakenings of people, have been, in a good many, attended with out-cryings, faintings, and bodily diſtreſſes: but in many more, the work has proceeded with great calmneſs. But the effects in both ſorts, are alike good and deſirable, and hitherto we hear nothing of their falling back from what they have profeſſed at the beginning; and ſtill we hear of ſome new pariſhes falling under great concern here and there, though the great cryings and outward diſtreſſes are much ceaſed.

"The Lord in this backſliding time, is willing to pity us, and ſee our ways and heal them, however crooked and perverſe they have been. O ſhall not this wonderful ſtep of divine condeſcenſion, lead us all to repentance, and to go out to meet a returning God, in the way of humiliation and reformation. The magiſtrates and miniſters in Edinburgh, are beginning to ſet up ſocieties for reformation of manners, and new lectures on week-days. May all our cities follow their example. There is a great increaſe of praying ſocieties alſo in Edinburgh and other towns and villages; and in them they are keeping days of thankſgiving for the partial waterings the Lord is giving us: thoſe in Edinburgh, ſend printed memorials to others through the nation, to excite them to it."*

The greateſt ſtrangers to religion could not avoid hearing of theſe things, but they were very differently

* The Rev. Mr. Macknight of Irvine, thus writes to Mr. Whitefield, June 21, 1742. "Bleſſed be our glorious GOD, there are ſome awakenings amongſt us at Irvine; not only of thoſe who have been at Cambuſlang, but ſeveral others are lately brought into concern about their eternal ſtate, and among them ſeveral children; the news of which I know will rejoice you, and I hope will encourage you to viſit us to help forward this great and glorious work of converting ſinners." —*Remarkable Particulars, &c.*

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ently affected with them. Whilſt ſome became more thoughtful and ſerious, many mocked, and ſome were even filled with rage. On the other hand, the temper and behavior of thoſe who were the ſubjects of this remarkable work, was the ſtrongeſt of all arguments that it came from above. Their earneſt deſire to be rightly directed in the way to heaven; their tender and conſcientious walk; their faithfulneſs in the duties of their ſtations; their readineſs to make ample reſtitution for any act of injuſtice they had formerly committed; their diſpoſition to judge mildly of others, but ſeverely of themſelves; their laying aſide quarrels and law-ſuits, and deſiring to be reconciled, and to live peaceably with all men; ſuch amiable and heavenly qualities, eſpecially when appearing in ſome who had formerly been of a very oppoſite character, could not fail to ſtrike every ſerious obſerver. In ſhort, it was ſuch a time for the revival of religion as had never before been ſeen in Scotland.*

THE enmity which wicked and profane men diſcovered againſt this work, and the deriſion with which they treated it, is no more than what might naturally be expected. But it is not ſo eaſy to account for the conduct of the Seceders. Theſe, not ſatisfied with forbearing to approve of it, went the length even to appoint a general faſt among them, one of the grounds of which was, the receiving Mr. WHITEFIELD into Scotland; and another, the delusion, as they called it, at Cambuſlang and other places. And Mr. Gibb, one of their miniſters, wrote

* Particulars may be found in the atteſted Narrative of the Work at Cambuſlang; Dr. Webſter's Divine Influence the true Spring, &c. and in Mr. Robe's Narratives and Monthly Hiſtory.—A view of the moſt memorable paſſages, is given in Vol. II. Book IV. Chap. VI. of Hiſt. Coll. relating to the Succeſs of the Goſpel, printed in 1754; where is alſo ſome account of the abiding fruits of theſe religious impreſſions.

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wrote a pamphlet inveighing against both, in the most virulent language. Such was the bigotry, and misguided zeal of the bulk of the party at that time. It is hoped their successors have juster views of this matter. But it is not proper here to enlarge upon this subject.† With respect to Mr. WHITEFIELD, the spring of their first opposition to him, sufficiently appears from his conversation with them at Dunfermline, formerly mentioned. And the following letter, which he wrote at Cambuslang, August, 1742, and which was afterwards printed at Glasgow, gives an account of their objections, and his answers, which are perfectly agreeable to the spirit of both*.

"I heartily thank you for your concern about unworthy me. Though I am not very solicitous what the world say of me, yet I would not refuse to give any one, much less a minister of JESUS CHRIST (and such an one I take you to be) all reasonable satisfaction about any part of my doctrine or conduct. I am sorry that the Associate Presbytery, besides the other things exceptionable in the grounds of their late fast, have done me much wrong. As to what they say about the supremacy, my sentiments, as to the power and authority of the civil magistrate as to sacred things, agree with what is said in the Westminster Confession of Faith, chapter xxiii. paragraph 3 and 4. And I do own the LORD JESUS to be the blessed Head and King of his church.

"THE

† The reader who wants to see the objections against the work at Cambuslang, &c. fully refuted, may consult (besides the books mentioned in the last note) Mr. Robe's Letters to Mr. Fisher; and Mr. Jonathan Edwards' Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the SPIRIT of GOD."—And as to the argument from the goodness of the fruits, which is a level to the capacities of all, the Compiler thinks it his duty to add, that among his acquaintance, who were the subjects of that work, the fruits were generally both *good* and *lasting*.

* Glasgow Weekly History, No. XXIII.

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"The Solemn League and Covenant I never abjured, neither was it ever proposed to me to be abjured: and as for my miſſives, if the Aſſociate Preſbytery will be pleaſed to print them, the world will ſee that they had no reaſon to expect I would act in any other manner than I have done. What that part of my experience is, that ſavors of the groſſeſt enthuſiaſm, I know not, becauſe not ſpecified; but this one thing I know, when I converſed with them, they were ſatisfied with the account I then gave of my experiences, and alſo of the validity of my miſſion; only, when they found I would preach the goſpel promiſcuouſly to all, and for every miniſter that would invite me, and not adhere only to them, one of them particularly ſaid, 'They were ſatisfied with all the other accounts which I gave of myſelf, except of my call to Scotland at that time.' They would have been glad of my help, and have received me as a miniſter of Jesus Christ, had I conſented to have preached only at the invitation of them and their people. But I judged that to be contrary to the dictates of my conſcience; and therefore I could not comply. I thought their foundation was too narrow for any high houſe to be built upon. I declared freely, when laſt in Scotland, (and am more and more convinced of it ſince) that they were building a Babel.* At the ſame time, they knew very

* The event verified this conjecture. In his M. S. notes, ſeveral years after, he makes the following remark: "Such a work (the religious concern at Cambuſlang) ſo very extenſive, muſt meet with great oppoſition. My collections for the orphans gave a great handle; but the chief oppoſition was made by the Seceders, who, though they had prayed for me at a moſt extravagant rate, now gave out that I was agitated by the devil. Taking it for granted, that all converted perſons muſt take the covenant, and that God had left the Scotch eſtabliſhed churches long ago, and that he would never work

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very well, I was very far from being against all church-government, (for how can any church subsist without it?) I only urged, as I do now, that since holy men differ so much about the outward form, we should bear with, and forbear one another, though in this respect we are not of one mind. I have often declared in the most public manner, that I believe the Church of Scotland to be the best constituted national church in the world. At the same time I would bear with, and converse freely with all others, who do not err in fundamentals, and who give evidence that they are true lovers of the LORD JESUS. This is what I mean by a catholic spirit. Not that I believe a Jew or Pagan, continuing such, can be a true Christian, or have true Christianity in them; and if there be any thing tending that way in the late extract which I sent you, I utterly disavow it. And I am sure, I observed no such thing in it, when I published it, though upon a closer review, some expressions seem justly exceptionable. You know how strongly I assert all the doctrines of grace as held forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith, and doctrinal articles of the Church of England. These I trust I shall adhere to as long as I live, because I verily believe they are the truths of GOD, and have felt the power of them in my own heart. I am only concerned that good men should be guilty of such misrepresentations. But this teaches me more and more to exercise compassion toward

work by the hand of a curate of the Church of England, they condemned the whole work, as the work of the devil; and kept a fast through all Scotland, to humble themselves, because the devil was come down in wrath, and to pray that the Lord would rebuke the destroyer (for that was my title). But the LORD rebuked these good men; for they split among themselves, and excommunicated one another. Having afterwards a short interview with Mr. Ralph Erskine, we embraced each other, and he said, "We had seen strange things."

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ward all the children of GOD, and to be more jealous over my own heart, knowing what fallible creatures we all are. I acknowledge that I am a poor blind sinner, liable to err, and would be obliged to an enemy, much more to so dear a friend as you are, to point out to me my mistakes, as to my practice, or unguarded expressions in my preaching or writing. At the same time I would humble myself before my Master, for any thing I may say or do amiss, and beg the influence and assistance of his blessed spirit, that I may say and do so no more."

So much for Mr. WHITEFIELD's difference with the Seceders. But notwithstanding all this, upon his second arrival in Scotland, June, 1742, he was received by great numbers, among whom were some persons of distinction, with much joy: and had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing more and more of the happy fruits of his ministry.* At Edinburgh, he preached twice a-day, as usual, in the Hospital park, where a number of seats and shades, in the form of an amphitheatre, were erected for the accommodation of his hearers. And in consequence of earnest invitations, he went to the west country, particularly to Cambuslang; where he preached no less than three times upon the very day of his arrival, to a vast body of people, although he had preached that same morning at Glasgow. The

* "Edinburgh, June 4, 1742. This morning I received glorious accounts of the carrying on of the Mediator's kingdom. Three of the little boys that were converted when I was last here, came to me and wept, and begged me to pray for and with them. A minister tells me, that scarce one is fallen back, who was awakened, either among old or young. The Sergeant, whose letter brother C—— has, goes on well with his company."

And in the M. S. "Societies (or fellowship meetings) I found set up for prayer, especially at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Several young gentlemen dedicated themselves to the ministry, and became burning and shining lights."

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The laſt of theſe exerciſes he began at nine at night, continuing till eleven, when he ſaid he obſerved ſuch a commotion among the people, as he had never ſeen in America. Mr. Mac Culloch preached after him, till paſt one in the morning, and even then could hardly perſuade the people to depart. All night in the fields might be heard the voice of prayer and praiſe. As Mr. WHITEFIELD was frequently at Cambuſlang during this ſeaſon, a deſcription of what he obſerved there at different times, will be beſt given in his own words* ; "Perſons from all parts flocked to ſee, and many, from many parts, went home convinced and converted unto GOD. A brae, or hill, near the manſe at Cambuſlang, ſeemed to be formed by Providence, for containing a large congregation. People ſat unwearied till two in the morning, to hear ſermons, diſregarding the weather. You could ſcarce walk a yard, but you muſt tread upon ſome, either rejoicing in GOD for mercies received, or crying out for more. Thouſands and thouſands have I ſeen, before it was poſſible to catch it by ſympathy, melted down under the word and power of GOD. At the celebration of the holy communion, their joy was ſo great, that at the deſire of many, both miniſters and people, in imitation of Hezekiah's paſſover, they had, a month or two afterwards, a ſecond which was a general rendezvous of the people of GOD. The communion-table was in the field ; three tents at proper diſtances, all ſurrounded with a multitude of hearers ; above twenty miniſters (among whom was good old Mr. Bonner) attending to preach and aſſiſt, all enlivening and enlivened by one another."

BESIDES his labors at Glaſgow and Cambuſlang, it is ſomewhat ſurpriſing to think, how many other places in the weſt of Scotland he viſited within the compaſs of a few weeks, preaching once or twice at every one of them, and at ſeveral three or four times. It

* M. S.

is

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is worth while to set down the Journal of a week or two. In the beginning of July, he preached twice on Monday at Paisley; on the Tuesday and Wednesday, three times each day at Irvine; on Thursday, twice at Mearns; on Friday, three times at Cumbernaud; and on Saturday, twice, at Falkirk. And again in the latter end of August; on Thursday, he preached twice at Greenock; on Friday, three times at Kilbride; on Saturday, once at Kilbride, and twice at Stevenson; on Sabbath, four times at Irvine, on Monday once at Irvine, and three times at * Kilmarnock; Tuesday,

* A gentleman now living, of an irreproachable character, thus writes to the Compiler, April 8, 1771. "When Mr. WHITEFIELD was preaching at Kilmarnock, on the 23d of August, 1742, from these words, 'And out of his fulness have all 'we received, and grace for grace,' I thought I never heard such a sermon on the fulness of grace that is treasured up in CHRIST JESUS: and can truly say that I felt the efficacy of the holy SPIRIT upon my soul, during that discourse. I afterwards shut up myself in my chamber, during the remaining part of that day; and before I laid myself down to rest, I made a solemn and serious dedication of myself to GOD, by way of covenant, extended and subscribed the same with my hands; and, I think, had communion with GOD, in so doing: to which I have often had recourse since, in adhering thereto, and in renewing thereof; though my life since has been attended with many backslidings from GOD, and have been perfidious in his covenant; yet still I rejoice in his salvation through precious CHRIST. And it is refreshing to behold the place at this very day, as I have often done since. I from the æra abovementioned, always looked upon Mr. WHITEFIELD as my spiritual father, and frequently heard him afterwards in Edinburgh and Glasgow with much satisfaction. It always gave me joy, the mentioning of his name, and grieved me when he was reproached. And I can very well remember, that when Cape Breton was taken, I happened to be then at Edinburgh; and being invited to breakfast with Mr. WHITEFIELD, I never in all my life enjoyed such another breakfast. He gave the company a fine and lively descant upon that part of the world, made us all join in a hymn of praise and thanksgiving, and concluded with a most devout

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Tuesday, once at Kilmarnock,* and four times at Stewarton; on Wednesday, once at Stewarton, and twice at the Mearns. He was also at Inchannen, New Kilpatrick, Calder, and Kilsyth, (where the religious concern still increased) and at Torphichen. He was indeed sometimes taken very ill, and his friends thought he was going off; "But in the pulpit (says he) the Lord out of weakness, makes me to wax strong, and causes me to triumph more and more." And even when he retired for a day or two, it was on purpose to write letters, and to prepare pieces for the press, so that he was as busy as ever.†

When he was at Edinburgh, he received accounts that the Spaniards had landed in Georgia. Upon this occasion he wrote to Mr. Habersham, "I am glad my dear family is removed to Mr. Bryan's, and rejoice that our glorious God had raised him and his brother up, to be such friends in time of need. My thoughts have been variously exercised, but my heart kept stedfast and joyful in the Lord of all lords, whose mercy endureth for ever. I long to be with you, and methinks could willingly be found at the head

devout and fervent prayer. In the evening of that day, he preached a most excellent thanksgiving sermon, from the first two verses of the cxxvith psalm.

* "I never preached with so much apparent success before. At Greenock, Irvine, Kilbride, Kilmarnock, and Stewarton, the concern was great: at the three last very extraordinary."

† Particularly, a Vindication of the Work of God in New-England. See Works, Vol. IV. and several letters about the affairs of the Orphan-house, some of his friends there having met with harsh treatment from the magistrates of Savannah.

At this time also he published at Edinburgh, a continuation of the account of the Orphan-house, from January 1741, to June 1742.—See his Works, Vol. III. where you have the whole account continued from time to time, till April 1770.

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head of you kneeling and praying, though a Spaniard's ſword ſhould be put to my throat. But alas, I know not how I ſhould behave, if put to the trial: only we have a promiſe, that as our day is, ſo our ſtrength ſhall be. The thoughts of divine love carry me above every thing. My dear friend, the Spaniards cannot rob us of this; nor can men or devils.—I humbly hope that I ſhall ſhortly hear of the ſpiritual and temporal welfare of you all." And he was not diſappointed; for a few weeks after he was informed of his family's ſafe return to Bethesda.*

About the end of October he left Scotland, and rode poſt to London, where he arrived in about five days.

* The manner in which the Spaniards were repulſed, with remarks upon the kindneſs of Providence to the colony, may be ſeen in an extract of General Oglethorp's proclamation for a thankſgiving.

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CHAP. XI.

From his Arrival in London, *in the Year* 1742, *to his embarking for* America, *in* 1744.

ON Mr. WHITEFIELD's arrival in London, he found a new awakening at the Tabernacle, which they had been obliged to enlarge; where, as he obſerves, "from morning till midnight, I am employed; and, glory be to rich grace, I am carried through the duties of each day with chearfulneſs, and almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity. Our ſociety is large, but in good order. My Maſter gives us much of his gracious preſence, both in our public and private adminiſtrations."

IN the month of March, 1743, he went into Glouceſterſhire, where the people ſeemed more deſirous to hear than ever. "Preaching, (ſays he) in Glouceſterſhire, is now like preaching at the Tabernacle in London." And again, (in a Letter, dated, April 7,) "I preached and took leave of the Glouceſter people, with mutual and great concern, on Sunday evening laſt. It was paſt one in the morning before I could lay my weary body down. At five I roſe again, ſick for want of reſt; but I was enabled to get on horſeback, and ride to Mr. F——'s, where I preached to a large congregation, who came there at ſeven in the morning. At ten, I read prayers and preached, and afterwards adminiſtered the ſacrament in Stonehouſe church. Then I rode to Stroud, and preached to about 12,000 in Miſtreſs G——'s field; and about ſix in the evening to a like number in Hampton-Common. After this, went to Hampton, and held

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held a general love-feaſt with the United Societies, and went to bed about midnight very chearful, and very happy." Next morning he preached near Durſley, to ſome thouſands; about ſeven reached Briſtol, and preached to a full congregation at Smith's Hall: and on Tueſday-morning, after preaching again, ſet out for Waterford, in South-Wales, where he opened the aſſociation which he and his brethren had agreed upon, and was ſeveral days with them, ſettling the affairs of the ſocieties. He continued in Wales ſome weeks, and preached with great apparent ſucceſs at Cardiff, Lantriſſant, Neath, Swanzey, Harbrook, Llanelthy, Carmarthen, *Larn, Narbatt, Newton, Jefferſon, Llaſſivran, Kidwilly, Llangathan, Landovery, Brecon, Treveeka, Guenfethen, Builth, and the Gore, † and in the latter end of April returned to Glouceſter, after having, in about three weeks, travelled about four hundred Engliſh miles, ſpent three days in attending aſſociations, ‡ and preached about forty times.

In

* It was the Great Seſſions. The Juſtices deſired I would ſtay till they roſe, and they would come. Accordingly they did, and many thouſands more; and ſeveral people of quality."

† The work begun by Mr. Jones, ſpread far and near, in South-and North-Wales, where the Lord had made Mr. Howel Harris an inſtrument of converting ſeveral clergy as well as laymen. Laſt year I viſited ſeveral places, but now I went to more, and in every place found, that not one half had been told me. The power of GOD at the ſacrament, under the miniſtry of Mr. Rowland, was enough to make a perſon's heart burn within him. At ſeven of the morning have I ſeen perhaps ten thouſand from different parts, in the midſt of ſermon, crying, Gogunniant—bendyitti—ready to leap for joy. Aſſociations were now formed, and monthly or quarterly meetings appointed, and a cloſer connection eſtabliſhed between the Engliſh and Welch, ſo that ſeveral came over to aſſiſt." M. S.

‡ At one of theſe aſſociations, a motion was made to ſeparate from the eſtabliſhed Church: but (ſays Mr. WHITEFIELD) "by

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In May he went back to London, "Once more, as he expreſſes it, to attack the prince of darkneſs in Moorfields," in the time of the holidays. The congregations were amazingly great and much affected. And by the contributions which were now and formerly made for his orphans, he had the ſatisfaction of paying all that was due in England, and of making a ſmall remittance to Mr. Haberſham.

About the middle of June, he made another excurſion, and preached at Fairford, Glanfield, Burford, Bengeworth, and Glouceſter; alſo at Briſtol and Kingſwood, and at Brinkworth, Tetherton, and Hampton. At Briſtol he continued ſome time,—preaching ſtatedly every day twice, and four times on the Sunday. Afterwards he preached at Exeter, to very large congregations, where many of the clergy attended.

In Auguſt he returned to London, but made no long ſtay there. "I thank you, (ſays he to a correſpondent,) for your kind caution to ſpare myſelf; but evangelizing is certainly my province. Every-where effectual doors are opened. So far from thinking of neſtling at London, I am more and more convinced that I ſhould go from place to place."

Accordingly we find him in the months of October, November, and December, preaching and travelling through the country, as if it had been the middle

"by far the greater part ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and for good reaſon: for, as we enjoy ſuch great liberty under the mild and gentle government of his preſent Majeſty King George, I think we can do him, our country, and the cauſe of God, more ſervice, in ranging up and down, preaching repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, to thoſe multitudes who would neither come into church or meeting, but who are led by curioſity to follow us into the fields. This is a way, to which God has affixed his ſeal for many years paſt."

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middle of Summer. At Avon, in Wilts, Tetherton, Clack, Brinkworth, Chippenham, Wellington, Cullompton, Exeter, Axminſter, Ottery, Biddeford,† St. Gennis in Cornwall,‡ Birmingham,§ Kidderminſter,* and Bromſgrove. Nor did he feel his health much impaired, though it was ſo late in the ſeaſon. He obſerves, indeed that he had got a cold; but adds, "The Lord warms my heart."

FEBRUARY 1744, an event happened to him, which, amidſt all his ſucceſs, tended to keep him humble, and ſerved to cure him of a weakneſs to which he had been liable, the truſting to groundleſs impreſſions. It was the death of his only child, concerning whom he was ſo impreſſed, that he made no ſcruple of declaring before the birth, that the child would be a ſon, and that he hoped he would live to preach the goſpel. Several narrow eſcapes, which Mrs.

† Here is a clergyman about eighty years of age, but not above one year old in the ſchool of CHRIST. He lately preached three times, and rode forty miles the ſame day. A young Oxonian who came with him, and many others, were deeply affected. I cannot well deſcribe with what power the word was attended. Dear Mr. Hervey, one of our firſt Methodiſts at Oxford, and who was lately a curate here, had laid the foundation."

‡ "Many prayers were put up by the worthy Rector and others, for an out-pouring of GOD's bleſſed Spirit. They were anſwered. Arrows of conviction flew ſo thick, and ſo faſt, and ſuch an univerſal weeping prevailed from one end of the congregation to the other, that good Mr. J—, their miniſter, could not help going from ſeat to ſeat, to ſpeak, encourage, and comfort the wounded ſouls."

§ "It is near eleven at night, and nature calls for reſt. I have preached five times this day, and weak as I am, through CHRIST ſtrengthening me, could preach five times more."

* "I was kindly received by Mr. Williams. Many friends were at his houſe. I was greatly refreſhed to find what a ſweet ſavour of good Mr. Baxter's doctrine, works, and diſcipline remained to this day."

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Mrs. Whitefield had during her pregnancy, confirmed him in his expectations; which were so high, that after he had publicly baptized the child at the Tabernacle, all went away big with hopes of his being spared to be employed in the work of GOD. But these fond expectations were soon blasted by the child's death, when he was about four months old. This was, no doubt, very humbling to the father; but he was helped to make the wisest and best improvement of it. "Though I am disappointed, says he, (writing to his friend) of a living preacher by the death of my son; yet I hope what happened before his birth, and since at his death, has taught me such lessons, as if duly improved, may render his mistaken parent more cautious, more sober-minded, more experienced in Satan's devices, and consequently more useful in his future labors to the church of GOD."

MARCH 3, he attended the assizes at Gloucester. The occasion was, in the Summer 1743, the Methodists had been persecuted and abused by the mob, particularly at Hampton, where several were hurt, and the life of their preachers threatened. Mr. WHITEFIELD having tried other methods in vain, resolved, with the advice and assistance of his brethren, to seek the protection of law: and accordingly got an information lodged against the Hampton rioters in the court of King's Bench. Facts being proved by a variety of evidence, and the defendants making no reply, the rule was made absolute; and an information filed against them. To this they pleaded *Not Guilty*, and therefore the cause was referred in course to the assizes in Gloucester. There he attended, and got the better of his adversaries. After a full hearing on both sides, a verdict was given for the prosecutors, and all the defendants were brought in guilty of the whole information lodged against them. This prosecution had a very good effect. The rioters were

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greatly alarmed at the thoughts of having an execution iſſued out againſt them. But the intention of the Methodiſts was, to let them ſee what they could do, and then to forgive them.*

Some time before this, ſeveral anonymous papers, entitled, "Obſervations upon the Conduct and Behavior of a certain Sect, uſually diſtinguiſhed by the name of Methodiſts," had been printed, and handed about in the religious ſocieties of London and Weſtminſter, and given to many private perſons, with ſtrict injunctions to part with them to no one. Mr. Whitefield having accidentally had the haſty peruſal of them; and finding many queries concerning him and his conduct, contained in them; and having applied for a copy, which was refuſed him, he thought it his duty to publiſh an advertiſement, deſiring (as he knew not how ſoon he might embark for Georgia) a ſpeedy, open publication of the ſaid papers, that he might make a candid and impartial anſwer. He had reaſon to believe the Biſhop of London was concerned in compoſing or reviſing them: but that he might not be miſtaken, after the publication of the advertiſement, he wrote the Biſhop a letter, wherein he deſired to know, whether his Lordſhip was the author or not; and alſo deſired a copy. The Biſhop ſent word, "he ſhould hear from him." Some time after, one Mr. Owen, printer to the Biſhop, left a letter for Mr. Whitefield, informing him that he had orders from ſeveral of the Biſhops, to print the Obſervations, &c. with ſome few additions, for their uſe; and when the impreſſion was finiſhed, Mr. Whitefield ſhould have a copy. For theſe reaſons, Mr. Whitefield thought it proper to direct his Anſwer to the Obſervations, to the Biſhop of London, and the other Biſhops concerned in the publication of them. This anſwer occaſioned the Rev. Mr. Church's Expoſtulatory

* See an account of this trial in his Works, Vol. IV.

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tory Letter to Mr. WHITEFIELD; to which he soon replied, with thanks to the author for prefixing his name.*

HAVING resolved to make another visit to America, whither Mr. Smith, a merchant, then in England, in the name of thousands, invited him. With him he took passage in a ship going from Portsmouth; but being informed, just before he was about to take his farewel, that the captain refused to take him, for fear, as he alledged, of spoiling the sailors, he was obliged to go as far as Plymouth. "In my way, says he, I preached at Wellington, where one Mr. Darracott had been a blessed instrument of doing much good. At Exeter also, I revisited, where many souls were awakened to the divine life. At Biddeford, where good Mr. Hervey had been curate, we had much of the power of GOD; and also at Kingsbridge. But the chief scene was at Plymouth and the dock, where I expected least success."‡ It is remarkable, that just before his success at Plymouth, he was in danger of being killed. Four gentlemen, it seems, came to the house of one of his particular friends, kindly enquiring after him, and desiring to know where he lodged. Soon afterwards, Mr. WHITEFIELD received a letter, informing him that the writer was a nephew of Mr. S—, an attorney at New-York; that

* See his Works, Vol. IV. where is also his Answer to the Second Part of the Observations, &c. in a second letter to the Bishops, written during his voyage to America that year.

‡ M. S. Upon mentioning Biddeford, he adds here a character of Mr. Hervey; it is pity he did not write it down.—However, we have a sketch of it——

"Your sentiments concerning Mr. H—'s book, are very just. The author of it, is my old friend; a most heavenly-minded creature, one of the first of the Methodists, who is contented with a small cure, and gives all that he has to the poor. He is very weak, and daily waits for his dissolution."

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that he had the pleasure of supping with Mr. WHITEFIELD at his uncle's house; and desired his company to sup with him, and a few more friends, at a tavern. Mr. WHITEFIELD sent him word, that it was not customary for him to sup abroad at taverns, but should be glad of the gentleman's company to eat a morsel with him at his lodging; he accordingly came and supped; but was observed frequently to look around him, and to be very absent. At last he took his leave, and returned to his companions in the tavern; and being by them interrogated, what he had done, he answered, "That he had been used so civilly, he had not the heart to touch him." Upon which, it seems, another of the company, a lieutenant of a man of war, laid a wager of ten guineas, that he would do his business for him. His companions, however, had the precaution to take away his sword. It was now about midnight, and Mr. WHITEFIELD having that day preached to a large congregation, and visited the French prisoners, was gone to bed: when the landlady came and told him that a well-dressed gentleman desired to speak with him, Mr. WHITEFIELD, imagining it was somebody under conviction, desired him to be brought up. He came, and sat down by the bed-side, congratulated him upon the success of his ministry, and expressed much concern at being detained from hearing him. Soon after he broke out in the most abusive language, and in a cruel and cowardly manner, beat him in his bed. The landlady and her daughter hearing the noise, rushed into the room, and seized upon him; but he soon disengaged himself from them, and repeated his blows on Mr. WHITEFIELD, who being apprehensive that he intended to shoot or stab him, underwent all the surprize of a sudden and violent death. Afterwards a second came into the house, and cried out from the bottom of the stairs, "Take courage, I am ready to help you." But

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by the repeated cry of *murder*, the alarm was now so great that they both made off. "The next morning, (says Mr. WHITEFIELD) I was to expound at a private house, and then set out for Biddeford. Some urged me to stay and prosecute; but being better employed, I went on my intended journey, was greatly blessed in preaching the everlasting gospel, and upon my return was well paid for what I had suffered: curiosity having led perhaps two thousand more than ordinary, to see and hear a man that had like to have been murdered in his bed. And I trust, in the five weeks time† while I waited for the convoy, hundreds were awakened and turned unto the LORD. At the dock, also, near Plymouth, a glorious work had begun. Could the fields between Plymouth and the Dock, speak, they could tell what blessed seasons were enjoyed there."

† M. S.

CHAP. XII.

From his embarking for America, *in* 1744, *to his going to the* Bermudas, *in the Year* 1748.

AS soon as the convoy came*, Mr. WHITEFIELD embarked in the beginning of August 1744, though in a poor state of health. The tediousness of the voyage, he imagined, occasioned no small addition to a violent pain in his side. However, he says, "Blessed be GOD, in a week or two after we sailed, we began to have a

* "August 4. Our convoy is now come. I desire you all to bless GOD for what he is doing in these parts; for preaching in the Dock is now like preaching at the Tabernacle. Our

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a church in our ship. We had regular public prayer morning and evening, frequent communion, and days of humiliation and fasting." After a passage of eleven weeks*, he arrived at York in New-England. Colonel Pepperell went with some friends in his own boat, to invite him to his house. But he was not in a proper condition to accept the invitation, being so ill of a nervous cholic, that he was obliged, immediately after his arrival, to go to bed. His friends were very apprehensive; but he himself had much inward peace. Great care was taken of him by a physician who had been a notorious Deist, but was awakened, the last time he was in New-England. For some time he was, indeed, very weak: "Yet (he writes) in three weeks, I was enabled to preach: but, imprudently going over the ferry to Portsmouth, I caught cold, immediately relapsed, and was taken, as every one thought, with death, in my dear friend Mr. Sherburne's house. What gave me most concern was, that notice had been given of my being to preach. Whilst the Doctor was preparing a medicine, feeling my pains abated, I on a sudden cried, 'Doctor, my pains are suspended: by the help of God, I will go and preach, and then come home and die.' In my own apprehension, and in all appearance to others, I was a dying man. I preached. The people heard me as such. The invisible realities of another world lay open to my view. Expecting to stretch into eternity, and to be with my Master before the morning, I spoke with peculiar energy.

Such

Our morning-lectures are very delightful. O! the thousands that flock to the preaching of CHRIST's Gospel."

P. S. "I must tell you one thing more. There is a ferry over to Plymouth. The ferry-men are now so much my friends, that they will take nothing of the multitudes that come to hear me preach; saying, 'GOD forbid that we should sell the word of GOD.'"

* His Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Litchfield and Coventry is dated during this voyage.

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such effects followed the word, I thought it was worth dying for a thousand times. Though wonderfully comforted within, at my return home, I thought I was dying indeed. I was laid on a bed upon the ground, near the fire, and I heard my friends say, 'He is gone.' But GOD was pleased to order it otherwise. I gradually recovered; and soon after, a poor negro-woman would see me. She came, sat down upon the ground, and looked earnestly in my face, and then said, in broken language, 'Master, you just go to heaven's gate. But JESUS CHRIST said, Get you down, get you down, you must not come here yet; but go first, and call some more poor negroes.' I prayed to the LORD, that if I was to live, this might be the event.

"IN about three weeks I was enabled, though in great weakness, to reach Boston; and every day was more and more confirmed, in what I had heard about a glorious work, that had been begun and carried on there, and in almost all parts of New-England, for two years together. Before my last embarkation from Georgia, Mr. Colman, and Mr. Cooper, wrote me word, that upon Mr. Tennent's going out as an itinerant, the awakening greatly increased in various places,* till, at length, the work so advanced everywhere, that many thought the latter-day glory was indeed come, and that a nation was to be born in a day. But, as the same sun that lightens and warms the earth, gives vent to noxious insects; so the same work, that for a while carried all before it, was sadly blemished through the subtilty of Satan,§ and the want of more experience in ministers and people, who had

* See Prince's Christian History, (or Historical Collections, &c. Vol. II. page 304) where are attestations of above a hundred-and-twenty ministers to the goodness of the work.

§ Thus it was at the reformation in Germany.

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had never seen such a scene before. Opposers, who waited for such an occasion, did all they could to aggravate every thing. One rode several hundred miles, to pick up all the accounts he could get of what was wrong in what he called only 'a religious stir.' And GOD having been pleased to send me first, all was laid upon me. Testimonies signed by various ministers came out against me,† almost every day.—And the disorders were also at the highest; so that for a while, my situation was rendered uncomfortable.‡ But amidst all this smoke, a blessed fire broke out.

† He wrote an Answer to a Testimony by Harvard College. See Works, Vol. IV.

‡ While some published testimonials against Mr. WHITEFIELD, others published testimonials in his favor; as Mr. Hobby, Mr. Loring: Fifteen Ministers convened at Taunton, March 5, 1745. And the following paragraph is in Prince's Christian History, No. XCIV.

"Saturday, November 24, 1744. The Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD was so far revived, as to be able to set out from Portsmouth to Boston, whither he came in a very feeble state the Monday evening after: since which, he has been able to preach in several of our largest houses of public worship, particularly the Rev. Dr. Colman's, Dr. Sewall's, Mr. Webb's, and Mr. Gee's, to crowded assemblies of people, and with great and growing acceptance. At Dr. Colman's desire, and the consent of the church, on the Lord's day after his arrival, he administered to them the Holy Communion. And last LORD'S day he preached for Mr. Cheever of Chelsea, and administered the Holy Supper there. The next day preached for the Rev. Mr. Emerson, of Malden. Yesterday he set out to preach at some towns to the northward, proposes to return hither the next Wednesday-evening, and after a few days, to comply with the earnest invitations of several ministers, to go and preach to their congregations in the southern parts of the province. He comes with the same extraordinary spirit of meekness, sweetness, and universal benevolence, as before. In opposition to the spirit of separation and bigotry, is still for holding communion with all Protestant churches. In opposition to enthusiasm, he preaches a close adherence to the Scriptures,

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gut. The awakened ſouls were as eager as ever to hear the word.* Having heard that I had expounded early in Scotland, they begged I would do the ſame in Boſton. I complied, and opened a lecture at ſix in the morning. I ſeldom preached to leſs than two thouſand. It was delightful to ſee ſo many of both ſexes, neatly dreſſed, flocking to hear the word, and returning home to family-prayer and breakfaſt, before the oppoſers were out of their beds. So that it was commonly ſaid, that between early riſing, and tar-water, the phyſicians would have no buſineſs."

It was now Spring, 1745, and at that time the firſt expedition was ſet on foot againſt Cape Breton. Colonel Pepperell, who was then at Boſton, and conſtantly attended Mr. WHITEFIELD's lecture, was pleaſed, the day before he accepted a commiſſion, to be General in that expedition, to aſk Mr. WHITEFIELD's opinion of the matter. He told him, with his uſual frankneſs, "That he did not, indeed, think the

tures, the neceſſity of trying all impreſſions by them, and of rejecting whatever is not agreeable to them, as deluſions. In oppoſition to Antinomianiſm, he preaches up all kinds of relative and religious duties, though to be performed in the ſtrength of Chriſt: and in ſhort, the doctrines of the Church of England, and of the firſt fathers of this country. As before, he firſt applies himſelf to the underſtandings of his hearers, and then to the affections. And the more he preaches, the more he convinces people of their miſtakes about him, and increaſes their ſatisfaction."

* "A man of good parts, ready wit, and lively imagination, who had made it his buſineſs, in order to furniſh matter for preaching over a bottle, to come and hear, and then carry away ſcraps of my ſermons; having one night got ſufficient matter to work upon, as he thought, attempted to go out; but being pent in on every ſide, he found his endeavors fruitleſs. Obliged thus to ſtay, and looking up to me, waiting for ſome freſh matter for ridicule, God was pleaſed to prick him to the heart. He came to Mr. P. full of horror, confeſſed his crimes, and longed to aſk my pardon."

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the ſcheme propoſed for taking Louiſburgh, very promiſing: that the eyes of all would be upon him. If he did not ſucceed, the widows and orphans, of the ſlain ſoldiers, would be like lions robbed of their whelps; but if it pleaſed GOD to give him ſucceſs, envy would endeavor to eclipſe his glory; he had need, therefore, if he went, to go with a ſingle eye; and then, there was no doubt, but if Providence really called him, he would find his ſtrength proportioned to the day." About the ſame time, Mr. Sherburne, another of Mr. WHITEFIELD's friends, being appointed one of the Commiſſaries, told him, 'He muſt favor the expedition, otherwiſe the ſerious people would be diſcouraged from enliſting; not only ſo, but inſiſted he ſhould give him a motto for his flag, for the encouragement of the ſoldiers.' This he refuſed to do, as it would be acting out of character. But Mr. Sherburne would take no denial. He therefore, at laſt, gave them one, *Nil deſperandum Chriſto Duce.* "If CHRIST be Captain, no fear of a defeat." Upon which great numbers enliſted. And before their embarkation, the officers deſired him to give them a ſermon. This he readily complied with, and preached from theſe words: "As many as were diſtreſſed, as many as were diſcontented, as many as were in debt, came to David, and he became a Captain over them." He ſpiritualized the ſubject, and told them, how diſtreſſed ſinners came to JESUS CHRIST, the Son of David; and in his application, exhorted the ſoldiers to behave like the ſoldiers of David, and the officers to act like David's worthies; then he made no manner of doubt, there would be good news from Cape-Breton. After this, he preached to the General himſelf; who aſked him, If he would not be one of his chaplains? But he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, "He ſhould think it an honor, but believed, as he generally preached three times a day, in various places, to large congre-

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congregations, he could do more ſervice by ſtirring up the people to pray, and thereby ſtrengthening his, and his ſoldiers' hands." And in this practice he perſiſted during the ſiege of Louiſburgh. "I believe (adds he,) if ever people went with a diſintereſted view, the New Englanders did then. Though many of them were raw and undiſciplined, yet numbers were ſubſtantial perſons who left their farms, and willingly ventured all for their country's good. An amazing ſcene of providences appeared,* and though ſome diſcouraging accounts were ſent during the latter end of the ſiege; yet in about ſix weeks, news was brought of the ſurrender of Louiſburgh. Numbers flocked from all quarters, to hear a thankſgiving ſermon upon the occaſion. And I truſt the bleſſing beſtowed on the country, through the thankſgivings of many, redounded to the glory of GOD."

THE New England people had, ſome time ago, offered to build him a large houſe to preach in; but as this ſcheme might have abridged his liberty of itinerating, he thanked them for their kind offer, and at the ſame time begged leave to refuſe the accepting of it. As his bodily ſtrength increaſed, and his health grew better, he began to move farther ſouthward; and after preaching eaſtward, as far as Caſco-bay, and North Yarmouth, he went through Connecticut, Plymouth, Rhode-Iſland, preaching to thouſands, generally twice a-day. "And though, (ſays he†) there was much ſmoke, yet every day I had more and more convincing proof, that a bleſſed goſpel fire had been kindled in the hearts both of miniſters and people. At New-York, where I preached as uſual, I found that the ſeed ſown, had ſprung up abundantly: and at the eaſt end of Long-Iſland ſaw many inſtances. In my way to Philadelphia, I had the

* See Mr. Prince's Sermon upon that occaſion.

† M. S.

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the pleasure of preaching, by an interpreter, to some converted Indians, and of seeing near fifty young ones in one school, near Free-hold, learning the Assembly's Catechism. A blessed awakening had been begun, and carried on among the Delaware Indians, by the instrumentality of Mr. David Brainard,* such a one as hath not been heard of since the awakening of New-England by the venerable Mr. Elliott, who used to be stiled the Apostle of the Indians; his brother followed him. Mr. William Tennent, whose party I found much upon the advance, seemed to encourage their endeavors with all his heart.

"His brother, Mr. Gilbert Tennent, being earnestly solicited thereto, I found settled in the place formerly erected at the beginning of the awakening. The gentlemen offered me eight hundred pounds a-year, only to preach among them six months, and to travel the other six months where I would. Nothing remarkable happened, during my way southward. But when I came to Virginia, I found that the word of the LORD had run and was glorified. During my preaching at Glasgow, some persons wrote some of my extempore sermons, and printed them almost as fast as I preached them. Some of these were carried to Virginia, and one of them fell into the hands of Samuel Morris. He read and found benefit.† He then read them to others; they were awakened and convinced. A fire was kindled; opposition was made; other laborers were sent for; and many, both white people and negroes, were converted to the LORD.

"IN North Carolina, where I stayed too short a time, little was done. At Georgia, through the badness of the institution, and the Trustees' obstinacy in

* See his Life and Journals.

† See this more fully narrated, Hist. Coll. Book IV. Chap. V. Sect. 22.

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in not altering it, my load of debt and care was greatly increaſed, and at times almoſt overwhelmed me. But I had the pleaſure of ſeeing one, who came as a player from New-York, now converted unto GOD, and a preacher of JESUS CHRIST. One Mr. Ratteray brought me ten pounds; and at my return northward, freſh ſupplies were raiſed up. The generous Charleſton people raiſed a ſubſcription of three hundred pounds, with which I bought land, being cheap during the war; and a plantation, and a few negroes were purchaſed at Indian-land. Thus, for a while, the gap was ſtopped. I preached a ſermon upon the Rebellion. Was very ſick at Philadelphia; kindly received at Bohemia, and at New-York.

"As itinerating was my delight, and America, as being a new world, particularly pleaſing, I now began to think of returning no more to my native country. But travelling, care, and a load of debt, contracted not for myſelf, but the Orphan-houſe, weighed me down. And being much troubled with ſtitches in my ſide, I was adviſed to go to Bermudas, for the recovery of my health."* He accordingly embarked, and landed there the 15th of March, 1748.

CHAP.

* In his Letters during this period, are the following paſſages:

"Auguſt 26, 1746. The door, for my uſefulneſs, opens wider and wider. I love to range in the American woods, and ſometimes think, I ſhall never return to England any more.

"October 8. I have had ſome ſweet times with ſeveral of the Lutheran miniſters at Philadelphia.

"November 8. I have lately been in ſeven counties in Maryland, and preached to great congregations.

"May 21, 1747. I have now been upon the ſtretch, preaching conſtantly for almoſt three weeks. My body is often extremely weak, but the joy of the LORD is my ſtrength, and by the help of GOD, I intend going on till I drop, or this

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CHAP. XIII.

From his Arrival at the Bermudas, *on his Return to* London *in* July, 1748.

MR. WHITEFIELD met with the kindeſt reception at Bermudas, and for above a month, he preached generally twice a-day, traverſing the iſland from one end to the other: but his activity, uſefulneſs, and treatment, will beſt appear by an extract from his manuſcript journal of that period.

"THE poor carcaſe can hold out no more. Theſe ſouthern colonies lie in darkneſs, and yet, as far as I find, are as willing to receive the Goſpel, as others. If ſome good books could be purchaſed, to diſpoſe of among poor people, much good might be done.

"June 1. The congregations yeſterday were exceeding large. I am ſick and well, as I uſed to be in England; but the Redeemer fills me with comfort. I am determined, in his ſtrength, to die fighting.

"June 4. I have omitted preaching one night, to oblige my friends, that they may not charge me with murdering myſelf; but I hope yet to die in the pulpit, or ſoon after I come out of it.

"June 23. Since my laſt, I have been ſeveral times on the verge of eternity. At preſent, I am ſo weak, that I cannot preach. It is hard work to be ſilent, but I muſt be tried every way.

"June 29. GOD has been pleaſed to bring my body to the very brink of the grave, by convulſions, gravel, a nervous cholic, and a violent fever. For this week paſt, I have not preached; but ſince my leaving Philadelphia, about three days ago, I ſeemed to have gathered ſtrength, and hope once more, to-morrow, to proclaim amongſt poor ſinners, the unſearchable riches of JESUS CHRIST. I purpoſe to go to Boſton, and return by land, ſo as to reach Charleſton by November.

"July

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"The simplicity and plainness of the people, together with the pleasant situation of the island, much delighted me. The Rev. Mr. Holiday, minister of Spanish-Point, received me in a most affectionate Christian manner, and begged I would make his house my home. In the evening, I expounded at the house of Mr. Savage, of Port-Royal, which was very commodious, and which also he would have me make my home. I went with Mr. Savage, in a boat lent us by Captain ——, to the town of St. George, in order to pay our respects to the Governor. All along we had a most pleasant prospect of the other part of the island; but a more pleasant one I never saw. One Mrs. Smith, of St. George's, for whom I had a letter of recommendation from my dear old friend Mr. Smith of Charleston, received me into her house. About noon, with one of the council and Mr. Savage, I waited upon the Governor. He received us courteously, and invited us to dine with him and the council at a tavern. We accepted the invitation, and all behaved with great civility and respect. After the Governor rose from the table, he desired, if I stayed in town on the Sunday, that I would dine with him at his own house.

"Sunday, March 20, read prayers, and preached twice this day, to what were esteemed here large auditories, in the morning at Spanish-Point church, and in the evening at Brackish-Pond church, about two miles distant from each other. In the afternoon I spoke with greater freedom than in the morning, and I trust not altogether in vain. All were attentive—some

"July 4. At present, I am very weakly, and scarce able to preach above once or twice a-week.

"September 11. We saw great things in New-England. The flocking and power that attended the word, was like unto that seven years ago. Weak as I was, and have been, I was enabled to travel eleven hundred miles, and preach daily. I am now going to Georgia to winter.

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some wept. I dined with Colonel Butterfield, one of the council, and received several invitations to other gentlemen's houses. May GOD bless and reward them, and incline them to open their heart to receive the LORD JESUS! Amen, and Amen!

"WEDNESDAY, March 23, dined with Captain Gibbs, and went from thence and expounded at the house of Capt. F—le, at Hunbay, about two miles distant. The company was here also large, attentive, and affected. Our LORD gave me utterance: I expounded on the first part of the viiith chapter of Jeremiah. After lecture, Mr. Riddle, a counsellor, invited me to his house, as did Mr. Paul, an aged presbyterian minister, to his pulpit; which I complied with upon condition the report was true, that the Governor had served the ministers with an injunction that I should not preach in the churches.

"FRIDAY, March 25. Was prevented preaching yesterday by the rain, which continued from morning till night; but this afternoon GOD gave me another opportunity of declaring his eternal truths to a large company at the house of one Mr. B—s, who last night sent me a letter of invitation.

"SUNDAY, March 27. Glory to GOD! I hope this has been a profitable Sabbath to many souls: It has been a pleasant one to mine. Both morning and afternoon I preached to a large auditory, in Bermudas, in Mr. Paul's meeting-house, which I suppose contains above four hundred. Abundance of negroes, and many others, were in the vestry, porch, and about the house. The word seemed to be clothed with a convincing power, and to make its way into the hearts of the hearers. Between sermons, I was entertained very civilly in a neighboring house: Judge Bascome and three more of the council came thither; each gave me an invitation to his house. O how does the LORD make way for a poor stranger in a strange land!

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land! After the second sermon, I dined with Mr. Paul, and in the evening expounded to a very large company at Counsellor Riddle's. My body was somewhat weak, but the Lord carried me through, and caused me to go to rest rejoicing. May I thus go to my grave, when my ceaseless uninterrupted rest shall begin!

"MONDAY, March 28. Dined this day at Mrs. D—l's, mother-in-law to my dear friend the Rev. Mr. Smith; and afterwards preached to more than a large house full of people, on Matt. ix. 12. Towards the conclusion of the sermon, the hearers began to be more affected than I have yet seen them. Surely the LORD JESUS will give me some seals in this island! Grant this, O REDEEMER, for thy infinite mercy's sake!

"THURSDAY, March 31. Dined on Tuesday at Colonel Corbusiers; and on Wednesday, at Colonel Gilbert's, both of the council, and found, by what I could hear, that some good had been done, and many prejudices removed. Who shall hinder, if GOD will work? Went to an island this afternoon, called Ireland, upon which live a few families; and to my surprize, found a great many gentlemen, and other people, with my friend Mr. Holiday, who came from different quarters to hear me. Before I began preaching, I went round to see a most remarkable cave, which very much displayed the exquisite workmanship of Him, who in his strength setteth fast the mountains, and is girded about with power. Whilst I was in the cave, quite unexpectedly I turned and saw Counsellor Riddle, who with his son came to hear me, and whilst we were in the boat, told me that he had been with the Governor, who declared he had no personal prejudice against me, and wondered I did not come to town and preach there, for it was the desire of the people; and that any house in the town,

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the court-house not excepted, should be at my service. Thanks be to GOD, for so much favor!—If his cause requires it, I shall have more.—He knows my heart: I value the favor of man no farther than as it makes room for the gospel, and gives me a larger scope to promote the glory of GOD. There being no capacious house upon the island, I preached for the first time here in the open air. All heard very attentively, and it was very pleasant after sermon to see so many boats full of people returning from the worship of GOD. I talked seriously to some in our own boat, and began to sing a psalm, in which they readily joined.

"SUNDAY, April 3. Preached twice this day at Mr. Paul's meeting-house, as on the last Sabbath, but with greater freedom and power, especially in the morning, and I think to as great, if not greater auditories. Dined with Colonel H—vy, another of the council; visited a sick woman, where many came to hear, and expounded afterwards to a great company at Capt. John Dorrel's, Mrs. D—l's son, who with his wife courteously entertained me, and desired me to make his house my home.—So true is that promise of our LORD's, 'That whosoever leaves father or mother, houses or lands, shall have in this life a hundred-fold with persecution, and in the world to come, life everlasting.' LORD, I have experienced the one; in thy good time grant that I may experience the other also!

"WEDNESDAY, April 6. Preached yesterday at the house of Mr. Anthony Smith, of Baylis Bay, with a considerable degree of warmth, and rode afterwards to St. George's, the only town in the island. The gentlemen of the town had sent me an invitation by Judge Bascome, and he with several others, came to visit me at my lodgings, and informed me, that the Governor desired to see me. About ten I waited

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waited upon his Excellency, who received me with great civility, and told me he had no objection againſt my perſon or my principles, having never yet heard me, and he knew nothing in reſpect to my conduct in moral life, that might prejudice him againſt me; but his inſtructions were, to let none preach in the iſland, unleſs he had a written licence to preach ſomewhere in America or the Weſt-Indies: at the ſame time he acknowledged that it was but a matter of mere form. I informed his Excellency that I had been regularly inducted to the pariſh of Savannah; that I was ordained prieſt by letters diſmiſſory from my Lord of London, and under no church cenſure, from his Lordſhip; and would always read the church prayers, if the clergy would give me the uſe of their churches. I added further, that a miniſter's pulpit was looked upon as his free-hold, and that I knew one clergyman who had denied his own Dioceſan the uſe of his pulpit. But I told his Excellency I was ſatisfied with the liberty he allowed me, and would not act contrary to his injunction. I then begged leave to be diſmiſſed, becauſe I was to preach at eleven o'clock: His Excellency ſaid, he intended to do himſelf the pleaſure to hear me. At eleven the church-bell rung, the church-bible, prayer-book, and cuſhion, were ſent to the town houſe.—The Governor, ſeveral of the council, the miniſter of the pariſh, and aſſembly men, with a great number of town's-people, aſſembled in great order. I was very ſick, through a cold I catched laſt night; but I read the church-prayers, (the firſt leſſon was the xvth of the firſt book of Samuel) and preached on thoſe words, 'Righteouſneſs exalteth a nation.' Being weak and faint, and having much of the head-ach, I did not do that juſtice to my ſubject as I ſometimes am enabled to do; but the Lord ſo helped me, that, as I found afterwards, the

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the Governor and the other gentlemen expreſſed their approbation, and acknowledged they did not expect to be ſo well entertained. Not unto me, O LORD, not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

"AFTER ſermon, Dr. F——b's, and Mr. P——t, the collector, came to me, and deſired me to favor them and the gentlemen of the town with my company to dine with them. I accepted the invitation. The Governor and the Preſident and Judge Baſcome were there. All wondered at my ſpeaking ſo freely and fluently without notes. The Governor aſked me whether I uſed minutes.—I anſwered, No. He ſaid it was a great gift. At table his Excellency introduced ſomething of religion, by aſking me the meaning of the word Hades. Several other things were ſtarted about free-will, Adam's fall, predeſtination, &c. to all which GOD enabled me to anſwer ſo pertinently, and taught me to mix the *utile* and *dulce* ſo together, that all at table ſeemed highly pleaſed, ſhook me by the hand, and invited me to their reſpective houſes. The Governor, in particular, aſked me to dine with him on the morrow, and Dr. F—b, one of his particular intimates, invited me to drink tea in the afternoon. I thanked all, returned proper reſpects, and went to my lodgings with ſome degree of thankfulneſs for the aſſiſtance vouchſafed me, and abaſed before GOD at the conſideration of my unſpeakable unworthineſs. In the afternoon, about five o'clock, I expounded the parable of the prodigal ſon to many people at a private houſe, and in the evening had liberty to ſpeak freely and cloſely to thoſe that ſupped with me. O that this may be the beginning of good goſpel-times to the inhabitants of this town! LORD, teach me to deal prudently with them, and cauſe them to melt under thy word!

"FRIDAY, April 8. Preached yeſterday with great clearneſs and freedom, to about four-ſcore people,

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people, at a house on David's island, over against St. George's town; went and lay at Mr. Holiday's, who came in a boat to fetch me; and this day I heard him preach, and read prayers; after which, I took the sacrament from him. Honest man, he would have had me administer and officiate; but I chose not to do it, lest I should bring him into trouble after my departure. However, in the afternoon, I preached at one Mr. Tod's, in the same parish, to a very large company indeed.—The LORD was with me. My heart was warm, and what went from the heart, I trust went to the heart, for many were affected. O that they may be converted also! Then it will be a *Good Friday* indeed to their souls.

"SUNDAY, April 10. Dined and conversed yesterday, very agreeably, with Judge Bascome; who seems to have the greatest insight into the difference between the Arminian and Calvinistical scheme of any one I have yet met with upon the island.—In the afternoon, I visited a sick paralytic; and this day I preached twice again at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. The congregations were rather larger than ever, and the power of GOD seemed to be more amongst them. I think I see a visible alteration for the better, every LORD's day.—Blessed be GOD! In the evening I expounded at Mr. Joseph Dorrell's, (where I dined) to a very large company; then went to his kinsman's, my usual lodging, on Saturday and Sunday evenings, who with his wife and other friends, seemed kinder and kinder daily.—Good measure, pressed down, and running over, may the LORD, both as to spirituals and temporals, return into all their bosoms!

"SATURDAY, April 16. Preached since LORD's-day at five different houses, to concerned and affected congregations, at different parts of the island, but was more indisposed, one night, after going to bed, than

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than I had been for some time. On two of the days of this week, I dined with the President and Captain Spafford, both which entertained me with the utmost civility.

"SUNDAY, 17. Still GOD magnifies his power and goodness more and more. This morning we had a pleasing sight at Mr. Paul's meeting-house. I began to preach, and the people to hear and be affected as in days of old at home. Indeed the prospect is encouraging. Praise the LORD, O my soul! After preaching twice to large congregations in the meeting house, I at the desire of the parents, preached in the evening a sermon at the funeral of a little boy about five years of age. A great number of people attended, and the LORD enabled me so to speak, as to affect many of the hearers.—Blessed be the LORD for this day's work! Not unto me, O LORD, not unto me, but unto thy free grace be all the glory!

"SUNDAY, April 24. The last week being rainy, I preached only five times in private houses, and this day but once in the meeting-house; but I hope neither time without effect. This evening expounded at Counsellor Riddle's, who with the other gentlemen, treats me with greater respect every day.—Colonel Gilbert, one of the council, has lent me his horse during my stay, and Mr. D——ll this morning informed me of a design the gentlemen had, to raise a contribution to help me discharge my arrears, and support my orphan family. Thanks be given to thy name, O GOD! Thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I want to owe no man any thing, but love and provide for Bethesda after my decease. Thou hast promised thou wilt fulfil the desires of them that fear thee. I believe, LORD, help my unbelief, that thou wilt fulfil this desire of my soul. Even so, Amen!

"SATURDAY, April 30. Preached since LORD'S-day,

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day, two funeral sermons, and at five different houses in different parts of the island to still larger and larger auditories, and perceived the people to be affected more and more. Twice or thrice I preached without doors. Riding in the sun, and preaching very earnestly, a little fatigued me; so that this evening I was obliged to lie down for some time. *Faint, yet pursuing:* must be my motto still.

"SUNDAY, May 1. This morning was a little sick; but I trust GOD gave us a happy beginning of the new month. I preached twice with power, especially in the morning, to a very great congregation in the meeting-house; and, in the evening, having given previous notice, I preached about four miles distant, in the fields, to a large company of negroes, and a number of white people, who came to hear what I had to say to them. I believe, in all, there were near fifteen hundred people. As the sermon was intended for the negroes, I gave the auditory warning, that my discourse would be chiefly directed to them, and that I should endeavor to imitate the example of Elijah, who when he was about to raise the child, contracted himself to its length. The negroes seemed very sensible and attentive. When I asked them, whether all of them did not desire to go to heaven, one of them, with a very audible voice said, 'Yes Sir.' This caused a little smiling: but in general, every thing was carried on with great decency; and, I believe, the LORD enabled me so to discourse, as to touch the negroes, and yet not give them the least umbrage to slight or behave impertinently to their masters. If ever a minister in preaching, need the wisdom of the serpent to be joined with the harmlessness of the dove, it must be when discoursing to negroes. Vouchsafe me this favor, O GOD, for thy dear Son's sake!

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"MONDAY, May 2. Upon enquiry, I found that some of the negroes did not like my preaching, because I told them of their cursing, swearing, thieving and lying. One or two of the worst of them, as I was informed, went away. Some said, they would not go any more: They liked Mr. M——r better, for he never told them of these things; and I said, their hearts were as black as their faces. They expected they said, to hear me speak against their masters. Blessed be GOD that I was directed not to say any thing, this first time, to the masters at all, though my text led me to it. It might have been of bad consequence, to tell them their duty, or charge them too roundly with the neglect of it, before their slaves. They would mind all I said to their masters, and, perhaps, nothing that I said to them. Every thing is beautiful in its season. LORD, teach me always that due season, wherever I am called, to give either black or white, a portion of thy word! However, others of the poor creatures, I hear, were very thankful, and came home to their masters' houses, saying they would strive to sin no more. Poor hearts! These different accounts affected me; and upon the whole, I could not help rejoicing, to find that their consciences were so far awake.

"SATURDAY, May 7. In my conversation these two days, with some of my friends, I was diverted much, in hearing several things that passed among the poor negroes, since my preaching to them last Sunday. One of the women, it seems, said, 'That if the book I preached out of was the best book that was ever bought at, and come out of London, she was sure it had never all that in it, which I spoke to the negroes.' The old man, who spoke out loud last Sunday, and said 'Yes,' when I asked them, Whether all the negroes would not go to heaven? Being questioned by somebody, Why he spoke out so? Answered,

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swered, 'That the gentleman put the question, once or twice, to them, and the other fools had not the manners to make him any answer, till at last, he seemed to point at me, and I was ashamed that nobody should answer him, and therefore I did.' Another, wondering why I said, 'Negroes had black hearts;' was answered by his black brother thus: 'Ah, thou fool, dost thou not understand it? He means black with sin.' Two more girls were overheard by their mistress, talking about religion, and they said, 'They knew, if they did not repent, they must be damned.' From all which I infer, that these Bermudas negroes are more knowing than I supposed; that their consciences are awake, and consequently prepared, in a good measure, for hearing the gospel preached unto them.

"SUNDAY, May 8. This also, I trust has been a good Sabbath. In the morning I was helped to preach powerfully to a melting, and rather a larger congregation than ever, in Mr. Paul's meeting-house, and in the evening, to almost as large a congregation of black and white, as last Sunday, in the fields, near my hearty friend Mr. Holiday's house. To see so many black faces, was affecting. They heard very attentively, and some of them now began to weep. May GOD grant them a godly sorrow, that worketh repentance not to be repented of!

"FRIDAY, May 13. This afternoon preached over the corpse of Mr. Paul's eldest son, about twenty-four years of age; and by all I could hear and judge of, by conversing with him, he did indeed die in the LORD. I visited him twice last LORD'S-day, and was quite satisfied with what he said, though he had not much of the sensible presence of GOD. I find he was a preacher upon his death-bed. For he exhorted all his companions to love CHRIST in sincerity, and blessed his brother and sister, and, I think, his father and

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and mother, just before his departure. A great many people attended the funeral. I preached on Luke vii. 13. "And when the LORD saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not."—Many were affected in the application of my discourse, and, I trust, some will be induced, by this young man's good example, to remember their Redeemer in the days of their youth. Grant it, O LORD, for thy dear SON's sake!

"SUNDAY, May 15. Praise the LORD, O my soul, and all that is within thee, praise his holy name! This morning I preached my farewel sermon, at Mr. Paul's meeting house; it was quite full, and, as the President said, above a hundred and fifty whites, besides blacks, were around the house. Attention sat on every face; and when I came to take my leave, oh! what a sweet unaffected weeping was there to be seen every-where. I believe there were few dry eyes. The negroes likewise without doors, I heard wept plentifully.—My own heart was affected, and though I have parted from friends so often, yet I find every fresh parting almost unmans me, and very much affects my heart. Surely a great work is begun in some souls at Bermudas. Carry it on, O LORD; and if it be thy will, send me to this dear people again. Even so, LORD JESUS. Amen.

"AFTER sermon, I dined with three of the Council, and other Gentlemen and Ladies, at Captain Bascome's; and from thence we went to a funeral, at which Mr. M——r preached; and after that I expounded on the LORD's Transfiguration, at the house of one Mrs. Harvey, sister to dear Mr. Smith of Charleston. The house was exceeding full, and it was supposed above three hundred stood in the yard. The LORD enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumper. Many wept. Mr. M——r returned from the funeral with me, and attended the lecture, as did the

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the three Counſellors, with whom I converſed very freely. May GOD reward them, and all the dear people of the iſland, for thoſe many and great favors they have conferred on me who am the chief of ſinners, and leſs than the leaſt of all ſaints!

SUNDAY, May 22. Bleſſed be GOD! the little leaven thrown into the three meaſures of meal, begins to ferment, and work almoſt every day, for the week paſt. I have converſed with ſouls loaded with a ſenſe of their ſins, and as far as I can judge, really pricked to the heart. I preached only three times, but to almoſt three times larger auditories than uſual. Indeed the fields are white, ready unto harveſt. GOD has been pleaſed to bleſs private viſits. Go where I will, upon the leaſt notice, houſes are crowded, and the poor ſouls that follow are ſoon drenched in tears. This day I took, as it were, another farewel. As the ſhip did not ſail, I preached at Somerſet in the morning, to a large congregation in the fields, and expounded in the evening to as large a one at Mr. Harvey's houſe, round which ſtood many hundreds of people. But in the morning and evening how did the poor ſouls weep. The LORD ſeemed to be with me in a peculiar manner, and though I was ready to die with heat and ſtraining, yet I was enabled to ſpeak louder, and with greater power, I think, than I have been before. Gifts and grace, eſpecially in the evening, were both in exerciſe. After the ſervice, when I lay down on the bed to reſt, many came weeping bitterly around me, and took their laſt farewel. Though my body was very weak, yet my ſoul was full of comfort. It magnified the Lord, and my ſpirit rejoiced in GOD my Savior. Abundance of prayers and bleſſings were put up for my ſafe paſſage to England, and ſpeedy return to Bermudas again. May they enter into the ears of the LORD of Sabaoth! For, GOD willing, I intend viſiting theſe dear people

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people once more. In the mean while, with all humility and thankfulness of heart will I here, O LORD, set up my Ebenezer: For hitherto, surely, thou hast helped me! I cannot help thinking that I was led to this island by a peculiar providence. My dear friend, Mr. Smith of Charleston, has been especially instrumental thereto. Thanks be to the LORD for sending me hither. I have been received in a manner I dared not expect, and have met with little, very little opposition indeed. The inhabitants seem to be plain and open-hearted. They have also been open-handed. For they have loaded me with provisions for my seastore; and in the several parishes, by a private voluntary contribution, have raised me upwards of a hundred pounds sterling. This will pay a little of Bethesda's debt, and enable me to make such a remittance to my dear yoke-fellow, as may keep her from being embarrassed, or too much beholden in my absence. Blessed be GOD, for bringing me out of my embarrassments by degrees; May the LORD reward all my benefactors a thousand fold! I hear that what was given, was given exceeding heartily, and people only lamented that they could do no more."

AFTER having transmitted to Georgia, what was given to him for the Orphan-house, and dreading to go back to America in that season of heat, for fear of relapsing, and having pressing calls to England, he took the opportunity of a brig, and in twenty-eight days arrived at Deal*. The next evening, July 6, 1748,

* During this voyage, among other Letters, he wrote the following:

"June 24, 1748. (on board.) Yesterday I made an end of revising all my Journals. Alas! alas! in how many things I have judged and acted wrong. I have been too rash and hasty in giving characters both of places and persons. Being fond of Scripture-language, I have often used a style too apostolical,

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1748, he reached London, after an abſence of near four years.

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poſtolical, and at the ſame time, I have been too bitter in my zeal. Wild-fire has been mixed with it, and I find that I frequently wrote and ſpoke in my own ſpirit, when I thought I was writing and ſpeaking by the aſſiſtance of the SPIRIT of GOD. I have likewiſe too much made inward impreſſions my rule of acting, and too ſoon and too explicitly publiſhed what had been better kept in longer, or told after my death. By theſe things, I have hurt the bleſſed cauſe I would defend, and alſo ſtirred up needleſs oppoſition. This has humbled me much, and made me think of a ſaying of Mr. Henry's, 'Joſeph had more honeſty than he had policy, or he never would have told his dreams.' At the ſame time, I cannot but praiſe GOD, who filled me with ſo much of his holy fire, and carried me, a poor weak youth, through ſuch a torrent both of popularity and contempt, and ſet ſo many ſeals to my unworthy miniſtrations. I bleſs him for ripening my judgment a little more, for giving me to ſee and confeſs, and I hope, in ſome degree, to correct and amend ſome of my former miſtakes."

At this time, alſo, he finiſhed his "Abridgment of Mr. Law's Serious Call;" which he endeavored to make more uſeful, by excluding whatever is not truly evangelical, and illuſtrating the ſubject more fully from the Holy Scriptures.—See his Works, Vol. IV.

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CHAP. XIV.

From his Arrival in London, 1748, *to his going to* Ireland, *in the Year* 1751.

ON Mr. WHITEFIELD's viſiting a few of his friends, immediately after his return, he found himſelf in no very agreeable ſituation. His congregation at the Tabernacle was ſadly ſcattered. And as to his outward circumſtances, he had ſold all his houſhold furniture, to help to pay the Orphan-houſe debt, which yet was far from being cancelled. But under all theſe diſcouragements, he was ſtill ſupported. His congregation was ſoon re-united, and received him with the greateſt joy. And at this time a very unexpected thing happened to him. Lady Huntingdon, before his arrival, had ordered Mr. Howel Harris to bring him to her houſe at Chelſea, as ſoon as he came aſhore. He went, and having preached twice, the Counteſs wrote to him, that ſeveral of the Nobility deſired to hear him. In a few days the Earl of Cheſterfield, and a whole circle of them attended; and having heard once, deſired they might hear him again. "I therefore preached again, ſays he, in the evening, and went home, never more ſurprized at any incident in my life.* 'All behaved quite well, and were in ſome degree affected. The Earl of Cheſterfield thanked me, and ſaid, 'Sir, I will not tell you what I ſhall tell others, how I approve of you:' or words to this purpoſe. At laſt Lord Bolingbroke came to hear, ſat like an archbiſhop, and was pleaſed to ſay, 'I had done great juſtice to the divine attributes in my diſcourſe.'‡ Soon afterwards her Lady-

* M. S. - ſhip

‡ It is alſo ſaid, that David Hume, Eſq. of Edinburgh, was

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ſhip removed to town, where I preached generally twice a week to very brilliant auditories. Bleſſed be GOD, not without effectual ſucceſs on ſome."

IN September 1748, he made a third viſit to Scotland, where he met with a hearty welcome. Great multitudes flocked to hear him, both at Edinburgh and Glaſgow. "I have reaſon, ſays he, to believe ſome have been awakened, and many quickened and comforted. My old friends are more ſolidly ſo than ever, and a foundation I truſt, has been laid for doing much good, if the Lord ſhould call me thither again. Two Synods†, and one Preſbytery, brought me upon the

a hearer of Mr. WHITEFIELD's, and was much taken with his eloquence. Such teſtimonies are ſet down, not for their weight, but their ſingularity.

† He means the Synods of Glaſgow and Perth, and the Preſbytery of Edinburgh. What happened in the Synod of Glaſgow, may be ſeen in a pamphlet, entitled, "A fair and impartial Account of the Debate in the Synod of Glaſgow and Air, 6 October, 1748, againſt employing Mr. WHITEFIELD;" publiſhed at Edinburgh the ſame year, and ſuppoſed to be written by the Rev. Dr. Erſkine, who was then miniſter at Kirkintilloch. The ſhort hiſtory of the matter is this. A motion was made, tending to prohibit or diſcourage miniſters from employing Mr. WHITEFIELD. The ſpeeches made in ſupport of the motion, were upon the following topics. His being a prieſt of the Church of England. That he had not ſubſcribed the Formula. His imprudencies. Chimerical ſcheme of the Orphan-houſe. Want of evidence, that the money he collects is rightly applied. Aſſerting that aſſurance is eſſential to faith. Encouraging a dependence on impulſes and immediate revelations. Declaring on ſlender evidence, ſome people converted, and others carnal and unregenerated. Often, indeed, pretending to repent of his blunders, and retract; but as often relapſing into them. And laſtly, his being under a ſentence of ſuſpenſion by Commiſſary Garden, from which he had appealed to the High Court of Chancery, and made oath to proſecute that appeal in a twelve-month; and yet it was never proſecuted.

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the carpet; but all has worked for good." While he was in Scotland, he endeavored to do all the service he could to the New-Jersey College, and in conjunction

On the other hand, the ministers who were against the motion, spoke in this manner. I blush to think, said one, that any of our brethren should befriend a proposal so contrary to that moderation and catholic spirit, which now is, and I hope ever shall be the glory of our Church. I am sensible, many things in the Church of England need reformation; but I honor her, notwithstanding, as our sister church. If Bishop Butler, Bishop Sherlock, or Bishop Secker, were in Scotland, I should welcome them to my pulpit. In this I should imitate Mr. Samuel Rutherford, as firm a presbyterian as any of us, who yet employed Bishop Usher. There is no Law of CHRIST, no Act of Assembly prohibiting me to give my pulpit to an Episcopal Independent, or Anabaptist Minister, if of sound principles in the fundamentals of Religion, and of a sober life. Our Church expressly enjoins, Act XII. April 1711, that great tenderness is to be used to foreign Protestants. The requiring strangers to subscribe our Formula, before they preach with us, would lay as effectual a bar against employing those of Congregational Principles, or Presbyterian Non-subscribers, as those of the Church of England.

As to Mr. WHITEFIELD, said another, there are few ministers whose character has been so well attested, by the most competent judges, both at home and abroad. One thing I cannot but observe: those who have spoken most warmly against Mr. WHITEFIELD, in this debate, acknowledge they have made little or no enquiry into his character: whereas those on the other side, have made a very careful enquiry; and that enquiry has turned out entirely to their satisfaction. With regard to his imprudencies, there is a great difference betwixt blunders owing to a bad heart, and those that are owing only to a misinformed judgment; especially, when the mistakes that occasioned them, have misled several great and good men. Whether Mr. WHITEFIELD's scheme of the Orphan-house be prudent or not, it is demonstrable it was honestly meant. The magistrates of Savannah published three years ago, in the Philadelphia Gazette, an affidavit that they had carefully examined Mr. WHITEFIELD's receipts and disbursements, and found that what he had collected in behalf of the Orphans, had been honestly applied; and that besides, he

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conjunction with some ministers who wished well to that institution, advised the sending over a minister from America, to make application in person. Which was afterwards done in the year 1754, when Mr. Tennent

he had given considerably to them of his own property. As to his maintaining, that assurance is essential to faith; encouraging an unwarrantable regard to impressions; and being too hasty in pronouncing men carnal or converted; his sentiments in these particulars, have been altered for upwards of two years. And now he scarce preaches a sermon, without guarding his hearers against relying on impressions, and telling them that faith, and a persuasion we are justified, are very different things, and that a holy life is the best evidence of a gracious state. These retractions are owing to a real change of sentiment. Letters from correspondents in New-England shew, that this change is at least, of two years date, and that ever since it happened, he has preached and acted with remarkable caution. Lastly, with respect to the prosecution of his appeal, Mr. WHITEFIELD exerted himself to the utmost to get his appeal heard, but could not prevail on the Lord's Commissioners so much as once to meet on the affair; they, no doubt, thinking of Mr. Garden's arbitrary proceedings with the contempt they deserved. But say some, "Mr. WHITEFIELD being under a suspension not yet reversed, is now no minister." But for what was he suspended? Why, for no other crime, than omitting to use the form of prayer prescribed in the communion book, when officiating in a Presbyterian congregation. And shall a meeting of Presbyterian ministers, pay any regard to a sentence which had such a foundation?

The issue of the debate was a rejecting of the motion by a vote, 27 to 13; and a resolution which was so expreſt as to be a decent burial of it; laying no new restriction on ministers from inviting strangers, but leaving things precisely as they were before. And they who chose to give Mr. WHITEFIELD their pulpits, never after met with any molestation. Upon the whole, the attacks made on Mr. WHITEFIELD's character, proved the occasion of informing the Synod of the falsehood of many aspersions thrown out against him, of the great increase of his prudence and caution, and the remarkable change of his sentiments and behaviour, so far as either were offensive. And thus what was intended for his reproach, turned out to his honor.

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Tennent and Mr. Davies applied to the General Aſſembly, and obtained an appointment of a general collection. He alſo began to think of making his Orphan houſe not only a receptacle for fatherleſs children, but alſo a place of literature and academical ſtudies. Such a place, he thought, was much wanted in the ſouthern parts of America; and if conducted in a proper manner, would be of great ſervice to the colony. He therefore, after his return to England, wrote to the Truſtees, ſignifying that this was his intention, if they would be pleaſed to put the colony upon another footing, and allow a limited uſe of negroes, without which, he had long been of opinion, that Georgia never could be a flouriſhing province. Mean-time, he went on in his uſual way, and with his uſual ſucceſs at London, Briſtol, and Glouceſter, during the winter. And in February, 1749, made an excurſion to Exeter and Plymouth, where he found a ſtrange alteration in the people, ſince he had been firſt there, about five years before; they now received him with the greateſt joy, and were importunate to hear him; and many of them gave proofs of a ſolid converſion to GOD.—"Now, (ſays he) Plymouth ſeems to be quite a new place to me." As his health was impaired in London, he loved to range (as he calls it) after precious ſouls. Though he never wanted to make a ſect, or to ſet himſelf at the head of a party.

"I HAVE ſeen enough of popularity, (ſays he) to be ſick of it; and did not the intereſt of my bleſſed Maſter require my appearing in public, the world ſhould hear but little of me hence-forward." Yet he could not think of remitting his diligence in the work of the goſpel. "I dread the thoughts of flagging in the latter ſtages of my road," is an expreſſion that he often uſes in writing to his friends. He was frequently very ill; but he imagined preach-

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ing and travelling did him service. "Fear not your weak body, (says he, in a letter to Mr. Hervey,) we are immortal till our work is done. CHRIST's laborers must live by miracles; if not, I must not live at all; for GOD only knows what I daily endure.—My continual vomitings almost kill me, and yet the pulpit is my cure, so that my friends begin to pity me less, and to leave off that ungrateful caution, 'Spare thyself.' I speak this to encourage you.*

IN March, 1749, he returned to London from an excursion of about six hundred miles in the west, where he had the pleasure of seeing that his former visits had been blessed with abundant success. In May he went to Portsmouth, and preached every day for more than a week, to very large and attentive auditories. Many were brought under convictions, prejudices seemed to be universally removed, and people, that a few days before were speaking all manner of evil against him, were very desirous of his longer stay to preach the gospel among them.

JUNE 24, he writes from Bristol: "Yesterday GOD brought me here, after having carried me a circuit of about eight hundred miles, and enabled me to preach, I suppose, to upwards of a hundred thousand souls. I have been in eight Welch counties, and, I think, we have not had one dry meeting. The work in Wales is much upon the advance, and likely to increase daily. Had my dear Mr. Hervey been there, to have seen the simplicity of so many dear souls, I am persuaded he would have said, *Sit anima mea cum Methodistis.*" IN

* About this time, he wrote "Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared." Wherein (with a candor very uncommon in controversial writings) he says, "several mistakes in some parts of my past writings and conduct are acknowledged, and my present sentiments concerning the Methodists explained." See his Works, Vol. IV.

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In the month of July and Auguſt he was at London, Briſtol, Plymouth, Biddeford and Exeter. When he returned to London, he had the pleaſure of a viſit from two German miniſters, who had been laboring among the Jews, and, it is ſaid, had been made inſtrumental in converting many of them.

In the month of September he went into Northamptonſhire and Yorkſhire; and preached at Oundle, Abberford, Leeds, and Haworth, where good Mr. Grimſhaw (who was ſo indefatigable in his endeavors to bring ſouls to CHRIST) was miniſter. In his church they had above a thouſand communicants, and in the church-yard about ſix thouſand hearers. At Leeds, the auditory conſiſted of above ten thouſand. Thither Mr. WHITEFIELD was invited by one of the Rev. Mr. Weſley's preachers, and by the ſocieties. And Mr. Charles Weſley coming there, gave notice of him to the people, and alſo introduced him to the pulpit in Newcaſtle, where he preached four times, and twice without doors.

It being now late in the year, he did not go forward to Scotland, but returned to London, after having preached about thirty times in Yorkſhire, and above ten times in Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire. He was alſo at Sheffield and Nottingham. And the congregations were every where large and ſerious. Only in one or two places, he had a little rough treatment; but this he did not mind, while he had reaſon to think many received real benefit. He arrived in London about the middle of November, and continued there till the beginning of February, employed in his uſual manner. Having offered to aſſiſt, occaſionally, at Weſt-ſtreet chapel, it was accepted. Accordingly he preached four or five times there, and adminiſtered the ſacrament twice or thrice. Congregations were very large.

FEBRUARY 6, 1750, he writes from Glouceſter, "Though

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"Though I left London in a very weak condition, and the weather was but bad, I came here on Friday-evening, and was ſtrengthened to preach on Saturday, and likewiſe on Sunday evening, and twice the ſame day in the country, at the New-houſe and at Hampton." And again from Briſtol, February 12. "Since I wrote laſt, we have been favored both in Glouceſter city, and in the country, with pleaſant and delightful ſeaſons. I have preached about twenty times, within theſe eight or nine days; and though frequently expoſed to rain and hail, am much better than when I left London." From Briſtol he went to Exeter, and to Plymouth, and in his way met with the Rev. Mr. Pearſall, a diſſenting miniſter at Taunton and Mr. Darracott at Wellington; both of whom he ſpeaks of in his Letters with the higheſt regard. At Plymouth he preached twelve times in ſix days, and the longer he preached, he had the greater number of hearers. His friends grew more zealous, and the fury of his enemies began to ſubſide. From thence he travelled near to the Land's end, preaching in a great many places, ſuch as Taviſtock, St. Ginuy's,† Port Iſaac, Camelford, St. Andrews, Redruth, Gwinnop, St. Mewens. All this he accompliſhed before the 21ſt of March, when we find him again at Exeter. "Invitations, (ſays he) are ſent to me from ſeveral places. I want more tongues, more bodies, more ſouls for the LORD JESUS. Had I ten thouſand, he ſhould have them all."

IN April he was at London and Portſmouth. And in May went to Aſhby, to wait on Lady Huntingdon, who had been ill. In his way thither, he had a moſt comfortable

† "Four of Mr. Weſley's preachers were preſent, and three clergymen, Mr. Bennet, aged fourſcore, Mr. Thompſon, and Mr. Grigg." "I found, as I went along, a moſt bleſſed work had been carried on by the inſtrumentality of the Mr. Weſleys, and their fellow-laborers." M. S.

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comfortable interview with the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Hervey*, and Dr. ——. But at Ashby, where it might have been least expected, there was a riot made before Lady Huntingdon's house, while the gospel was preaching: and in the evening some people, in their return home, narrowly escaped being murdered. The Justice being informed, sent a message, in order to bring the offender before him. "So that I hope, (says Mr. WHITEFIELD) it will be, overruled for great good, and that the Gospel, for the future, will have free course."

AFTER he left Ashby, he preached at Radcliff Church, Nottingham and Sutton with great success.

"At

* Mr. Hervey thus wrote of his interview to a friend: "I have seen lately, that most excellent minister of the ever-blessed JESUS, Mr. WHITEFIELD. I dined, supped, and spent the evening with him at Northampton, in company with Dr. Doddridge, and two pious, ingenious clergymen of the Church of England, both of them known to the learned world by their valuable writings. And surely, I never spent a more delightful evening, or saw one that seemed to make nearer approaches to the felicity of heaven. A gentleman of great worth and rank in the town, invited us to his house, and gave us an elegant treat; but how mean was his provision, how coarse his delicacies, compared with the fruit of my friend's lips; they dropped as the honey comb, and were a well of life. Surely, people do not know that amiable and exemplary man, or else, I cannot but think, instead of depreciating, they would applaud and love him. For my part, I never beheld so fair a copy of our LORD, such a living image of the SAVIOR, such exalted delight in GOD, such enlarged benevolence to man, such a steady faith in the divine promises, and such a fervent zeal for the divine glory; and all this, without the least moroseness of humor, or extravagancies of behavior; sweetened with the most engaging chearfulness of temper, and regulated by all the sobriety of reason, and wisdom of Scriptures; insomuch, that I cannot forbear applying the wise man's encomium of an illustrious woman, to this eminent minister of the everlasting Gospe: "Many sons have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all."

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'At Nottingham, (says he) several came to me, enquiring, What they should do to be saved? I preached there four times. One evening Lord S. and several gentlemen, were present, and behaved with great decency. Many thousands attended. Yesterday-morning I breakfasted with three dissenting ministers; and Mr. P——s, who told me, that Lady P—— desired he would press me to preach at the church. Yesterday, in the afternoon, I preached at Sutton: and this morning at Mansfield." After leaving that place, he went to Rotherham and Sheffield. He was at Leeds in the end of May, and observes, "Methinks, I am now got into another climate, where there are many of God's people." From thence he went to Manchester, Rosindale, and several other parts of Lancashire, Kendal, Whitehaven, Cockermouth, preaching generally twice a-day, and arrived at Edinburgh, July 6. Having preached near a hundred times since he left London, and by a moderate computation, to above a hundred thousand souls. "It is amazing (he writes) to see how people are prepared, in places where I never was before. What shall I render to the Lord?"

At Edinburgh and Glasgow, (in which places he spent the month of July, 1750) he was received, as usual, in the most loving and tender manner, preaching generally twice a day to great multitudes, whose seriousness, and earnest desire to hear him, made him exert himself rather beyond his strength. "By preaching always twice, (says he) and once thrice, and once four times in a day, I am quite weakened; but I hope to recruit again. I am burning with a fever, and have a violent cold; but CHRIST's presence makes me smile at pain, and the fire of his love burns up all fevers whatsoever." He left Edinburgh, August 4, and soon found himself much better for riding. At Berwick, one of the ministers sent him an offer of his pulpit, and he was informed that many more round

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that town were willing to do the same. At his return to London, he preached several times at West-street Chapel. He had also the pleasure of Mr. Hervey's company, who, at his desire, came up to town, and lodged in his house. In the months of September and October he made excursions to Portsmouth, Chatham, Gloucester, Birmingham, Evesham, Wednesbury, and Nottingham; "ranging about (as he expresses it) to see who would believe the Gospel-report." And was particularly successful at Chatham and Canterbury.

He spent the winter in London, in his usual busy and laborious way, and with equal success. He was confined, near a fortnight, to his room by a violent fever, and inflammation of the lungs; but before the 17th of December, he was able to preach again. And in the latter end of January, 1751, he rode post to Ashby, being alarmed with the accounts of Lady Huntingdon's dangerous illness, and the afflictions with which it has pleased God to visit her family. He writes from Ashby, January 29. "Blessed be God, Lady Huntingdon is somewhat better. Entreat all our friends to pray for her. Her sister-in-law, Lady Frances H——, lies dead in the house. She was a retired Christian, lived silently, and died suddenly without a groan. May my exit be like hers. Almost all the family have been sick in their turns."

Having left London, March 5, he went again into Gloucestershire, and to Bristol, and preached at Taunton and Wellington, in his way to Plymouth. April 11, he was at Exeter, and writes thus to Mr. Hervey: Some good, I trust, is to be done, this spring to many souls. This western circuit, I believe has been blessed already. I have preached about forty times since I left London, and have been enabled several times to ride forty miles a-day. I find this sensibly refreshes me. I wish you could say so too.

At

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At Plymouth we had sweet seasons; and on Tuesday last I met with a young clergyman, who was awakened under my preaching seven years ago. He has been at Cambridge, and was ordained by the Bishop of Exeter. He is followed much, and I suppose, will soon be reproached for his Master's sake. I hope you will find strength to proceed in your book."

From Exeter he set out on a tour through Wales, where, in about three weeks, he rode near five hundred miles, and preached generally twice a-day; and from hence, he made his visit to Ireland, which had been in his thoughts some time.

CHAP. XV.

From his first Visit to Ireland, *to his opening the New Tabernacle at* London, *in the Year* 1758.

After a passage of five days from Wales, he arrived May 24, 1751, at Dublin, where he was gladly received, and lodged at the house of Mr. L——, and preached every morning and evening, as usual in other places: "Surely (says he) here are many converted souls, among whom are two or three students, and several soldiers. At first the greatness and hurry of the place surprized me; but thanks be to the Lord of the harvest, here, as well as elsewhere, the fields are white, ready unto harvest. Congregations are large, and hear as for eternity." And again: Athlone, June 10. For this week past, I have been preaching twice almost every day in some country towns. I find, through the many offences that have lately been given, matters were brought to a low ebb.

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ebb. But the cry now is, "Methodiſm is revived again."* At Limerick he preached ſeven times to large and affected auditories, and twice at Cork, (where the Methodiſts had lately been mobbed) to a great body of people, with all quietneſs. From thence he went to Bandon and Kinſale, where a like bleſſing attended his preaching. At his return to Cork, the numbers and affections of his hearers increaſed. At Belfaſt alſo he was detained ſome days beyond his intention, by the people's importunity, and preached at Liſburn, Lurgun, the Maize, and Lambag, towns and places adjacent. So many attended, and the proſpect of doing good was ſo promiſing, that he was ſorry he had not come to the north of Ireland ſooner. But he haſted to pay another viſit to Scotland, before he embarked for America, which he was intent upon doing before winter.

He therefore came over in the beginning of July, 1751, from Belfaſt to Irvine, where, at the deſire of the magiſtrates, he preached to a great congregation; and ſo proceeded to Glaſgow. From this place he writes, July 12. "Though I preached near eighty times in Ireland, and GOD was pleaſed to bleſs his word, yet Scotland ſeems to be a new world to me. To ſee the people bring ſo many Bibles, turn to every paſſage when I am expounding, and hanging, as it were, upon me to hear every word, is very encouraging. I feel an uncommon freedom here; and talking with the winter as well as with the ſummer ſaints, feeds and delights my heart."§ At this time he

* In the MSS. he ſays, "I took a journey from near Haverford-weſt to Ireland, where a yet greater work had been begun and carried on to a high degree, amidſt prodigious oppoſition; numbers converted, not only from Popery, but to JESUS CHRIST, at Athlone, Dublin, Limerick, Cork, and various other places."

§ Here it may be proper, once for all, to take notice of ſome

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he was glad to understand that Mr. Dinwiddie, brother-in-law to the Rev. Mr. MacCulloch, of Cambuslang, was made Governor of Virginia. In that province there had been a considerable awakening for

some particulars relating to Mr. WHITEFIELD's visits to Scotland, which he continued till within a few years of his death.

Though after the years 1741, and 1742, there was no such extensive new awakenings, Mr. WHITEFIELD's coming was always refreshing to serious persons, and seemed to put new life into them: and also to be the means of increasing their number. His preaching was still eminently useful in various respects. In the first place it had an excellent tendency to destroy the hurtful spirit of bigotry, and excessive zeal for smaller matters; and to turn men's attention to the great and substantial things of religion. Another effect was, that it drew several persons to hear the gospel, who seldom went to hear it from other ministers. Again, young people in general were much benefitted by his ministry, and particularly young students, who became afterwards serious evangelical preachers. Lastly, his morning discourses, which were mostly intended for sincere, but disconsolate souls, were peculiarly fitted to direct and encourage all such in the Christian life. And his addresses in the evening to the promiscuous multitudes who then attended him, were of a very alarming kind. There was something exceedingly striking in the solemnity of his evening congregations in the Orphan-house park at Edinburgh, and High-church-yard of Glasgow, especially towards the conclusion of his sermons, (which were commonly very long, though they seemed short to the hearers) when the whole multitude stood fixt, and like one man hung upon his lips with silent attention, and many under deep impressions of the great objects of religion, and the concerns of eternity.—These things will not soon be forgotten; and it is hoped the many good effects, which, by the divine blessing attended them, never will.

His conversation was no less reviving than his sermons. Many in Edinburgh and Glasgow are witnesses of this, especially at Glasgow, when in company with his good friends, Mr. MacLaurin, Mr. Robert Scott, &c. one might challenge the sons of pleasure with all their wit, good humor, and gaiety,

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for some years past, especially in Hanover county and the places adjacent. As the ministers of the establishment did not favor the work, and the people had put themselves under the care of the New-York synod,

ty to furnish entertainment so agreeable. At the same time every part of it was not more agreeable, than it was useful and edifying.

His friends in Scotland, among whom were many of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, were very constant and steady in their great regard for him. And his opposers grew more and more mild. Some anonymous pamphlets were written against him at his first coming: But these soon died and were forgotten. Afterwards a number of stories were handed about to his disadvantage; but upon enquiry, it was found either that matters were misrepresented or exaggerated; or that there was no foundation for such reports at all. In short, when they were traced to their origin, they rather turned out to his honor. He used to smile at good Mr. MacLaurin's honest zeal, who on such occasions spared no pains to come at the truth, and when he had discovered it, was no less eager to communicate the discovery to others, for the vindication of Mr. WHITEFIELD's character, in which he thought the credit of religion was concerned. The following instance is well remembered: One Lieutenant Wright alledged, that Mr. WHITEFIELD had kept back money sent by a gentlewoman to her son in America; this coming to Mr. MacLaurin's ears, he was restless till he procured a meeting betwixt Mr. WHITEFIELD and his accuser. They met; Mr. Wright did not retract what he had said. Upon which a letter was instantly wrote to the mother at London; and her answer being received, a confutation of the calumny was published in the Glasgow Courant in the following terms: "October 31, 1743. A story having been spread in this town of Mr. WHITEFIELD's having received twenty pounds sterling from a gentlewoman in London, to give to her son in Georgia; whereas he had received only three guineas, which he had returned to the gentlewoman when he came back from Georgia, her son having been gone from thence before his arrival; a letter was wrote to London to clear up this affair, to which the gentlewoman has sent this answer: 'Sir, this is to assure you, that I received of Mr. John Stevens the three guineas, which was the full sum that I gave you for my son. I hope it is only a false as-

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synod, they met with discouragements from those in power. However, Mr. Samuel Davies (afterwards president of the college of New-Jersey) being licensed, was settled over a congregation; and the religious concern so increased, that one congregation was multiplied to seven. There was now an agreeable prospect that these good people would have the same privileges secured to them, which dissenting Protestants enjoy at home. AUGUST

person on him; for I never heard that he should say any such thing, being three months in England. I am, &c. September 13, 1748.' There is likewise a receipt come down, dated September 3, to Mr. Stevens. Both the letter and receipt are to be seen in the hands of the publisher."

But, indeed, Mr. WHITEFIELD's whole behavior was so open to the eyes of the world; and his character, after it had stood many attacks from all quarters, came at last to be so throughly established, that several of his opposers in Scotland seemed rather to acquire a certain degree of esteem for him; at least, they all thought proper to give over speaking against him.

When he was at Glasgow, he always lodged with Mr. James Niven, merchant above the Cross; till towards the end of his life, his asthmatic disorder made the town-air disagree with him. And then he went out in the evenings, and stayed with his good friend Mr. MacCulloch, at Campuslang.

A person of eminence, whom a sincere esteem of Mr. WHITEFIELD made attentive to his reception and ministrations in Scotland, from first to last, writes thus to the compiler:

"Edinburgh, January, 1772. I think more might be said with great justice, concerning the effects of his ministry in Scotland, after the first two years; as there was always a remarkable revival followed each of his visits; which many of the ministers testified from their particular knowledge, especially by the number of new communicants.—Mention might be made of the great number of ministers in Scotland, that employed him, and of the many affectionate letters he received from them, of which there were a good many printed both in the London and Glasgow Weekly Histories, from some of the most eminent men in the Church, who had employed him to preach in their pulpits, and continued so to do, when opportunity offered; except in the Presbytery of Edinburgh; and even there, the Magistrates always allowed him a church to preach in, every time he came."

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AUGUST 6, he set out from Edinburgh for London, in order to embark a fourth time for America. He had thrown up much blood in Edinburgh; but the journey he was now upon had a good effect in recovering him from that illness; and as he went along, he was much refreshed with the accounts he received of the happy fruits of his ministry at Kendal the year before. After a sorrowful parting with his friends in England, which grew still more distressing to him, he went aboard the Antelope, Captain MacLellan, bound for Georgia with Germans; and took along with him several children.

HE arrived at Savannah, October 27, and found the Orphan house in a flourishing condition. "Thanks be to God (says he) all is well at Bethesda. A most excellent tract of land is granted to me very near the house, which in a few years, I hope will make a sufficient provision for it." From November, 1751, to the beginning of April, 1752, he was partly at Bethesda, and partly in South Carolina, still upon the stretch in his Master's work. I intend, (says he) by his assistance, now to begin; for as yet, alas! I have done nothing." And again, "O that I may begin to be in earnest! It is a new year; GOD quicken my tardy pace, and help me to do much work in a little time! this is my high ambition."

BEING warned by what had happened to him formerly, he did not venture to stay the summer season in America; but took his passage in the end of April, for London. At his arrival, he perceived he had returned in a very good time; for Georgia was soon to be taken into the hands of Government, and put on the same footing with other colonies, which gave ground to hope that it would soon become a flourishing province. This was joyful news. He now thought Providence was appearing for Georgia and Bethesda. He determined therefore to sell his plantation,

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plantation, and to carry all his ſtrength to the Orphan-houſe.

About the middle of June, he planned a new rout. "Next week, (ſays he) God willing, I ſhall go to Portſmouth, from thence to Bath, then to the weſt, then to Wales, and from thence, may be, to Scotland and Ireland." Accordingly we find his letters of this period, dated at Portſmouth, Briſtol, Cardiff, Haverford-weſt. In returning to Briſtol, he attended an aſſociation, where were preſent about nine clergy, and near forty other laborers, of whom he writes: "I truſt all are born of God, and deſirous to promote his glory, and his people's good. All was harmony and love."

August 17, he was in London. His letter of this date, to his acquaintance Dr. F——, the celebrated electrical philoſopher, deſerves particular notice. "I find you grow more and more famous in the learned world. As you have made a pretty conſiderable progreſs in the myſteries of electricity, I would now humbly recommend to your diligent unprejudiced purſuit and ſtudy, the myſtery of the new birth. It is a moſt important, intereſting ſtudy, and when maſtered, will richly anſwer and repay you for all your pains. One at whoſe bar we are ſhortly to appear, hath ſolemnly declared, that without it, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. You will excuſe this freedom. I muſt have *aliquid Chriſti* in all my letters."

From London he took another tour to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of September, 1752. In his way he preached twice at Lutterworth, (the famous John Wickliff's pariſh) and at Leiceſter; and in both places was informed afterwards that good was done. At Newcaſtle, he was as it were arreſted to ſtay, and preached four times to great congregations. At

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At Edinburgh and Glaſgow (in which places he continued till the 10th of October) he was employed as uſual. He writes from Glaſgow, September 29. "At Edinburgh great multitudes, among whom were abundance of the better ſort, attended twice every day. Many young miniſters and ſtudents have given cloſe attendance, and I hear of ſeveral perſons that have been brought under deep convictions. I intend to ſend you copies of two letters from a Highland ſchoolmaſter, who is honored of GOD to do much good among the poor Highland children." "I have brave news ſent me from Leiceſter and Newcaſtle, and have ſtrong invitations to Yorkſhire and Lancaſhire. What a pity it is that the year goes round ſo ſoon."*

In his way back to London, he preached at Berwick, Alnwick, Morpeth, and Newcaſtle. From Sheffield he writes, November 1. "Since I left Newcaſtle, I have ſcarce known ſometimes, whether I have been in heaven or on earth. At Leeds, Burſtall, Howarth, Halifax, &c. thouſands and thouſands have flocked twice or thrice a-day to hear the word of life. I am now come from Bolton, Mancheſter, Stockport, and Chinly. Yeſterday I preached in a Church. Four ordained miniſters, friends to the work of GOD, have been with me. The word hath run ſo ſwiftly at Leeds, that friends are come to fetch

* In 1752, the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland, upon a diviſion of the houſe, by a few votes depoſed Mr. Gilleſpie; which afterwards gave occaſion to the ſociety called the Preſbytery of Relief. Mr. WHITEFIELD being informed of the circumſtances of that affair, writes thus—"I wiſh Mr. Gilleſpie joy. The Pope I find has turned Preſbyterian.—The Lord reigns, that is enough for us." And again, —"Now will Mr. Gilleſpie do more good in a week, than before, in a year. How blind is Satan! What does he get by caſting out CHRIST's ſervants? I expect that ſome great good will come out of theſe confuſions."

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fetch me back, and am now going to Rotherham, Wakefield, Leeds, York and Epworth. GOD favors us with weather, and I would fain make hay whilſt the ſun ſhines.—O that I had as many tongues, as there are hairs upon my head! the ever-loving, ever-lovely JESUS, ſhould have them all. Fain would I die preaching."

NOVEMBER 10, he arrived at London, and proceeded in his uſual way at the Tabernacle. December 15, he ſays. "My hands are full of work; and I truſt I can ſay, the LORD cauſes his work to proſper in my unworthy hands. More bleſſed ſeaſons we never enjoyed. Our ſacramental occaſions have been exceedingly awful and refreſhing."

HE now began to think of erecting a new Tabernacle, a large building eighty feet ſquare; which he accompliſhed in the ſpring and ſummer following.

ABOUT this time alſo, we find Mr. Hervey and him employed in reviſing each other's manuſcripts. Of Mr. Hervey's he ſays: "For me to play the critic on them, would be like holding up a candle to the ſun. However, I will juſt mark a few places, as you deſire. I foretel their fate; nothing but your ſcenery can ſcreen you. Self will never bear to die, though ſlain in ſo genteel a manner, without ſhewing ſome reſentment againſt its artful murderer." Again, 'I thank you a thouſand times for the trouble you have been at in reviſing my poor compoſitions, which I am afraid you have not treated with a becoming ſeverity. How many pardons ſhall I aſk for mangling, and I fear murdering your *Theron* and *Aſpaſio*. If you think my two ſermons will do for the public, pray return them immediately. I have nothing to comfort me but this, that the LORD chuſes the weak things of this world to confound the ſtrong, and things that are not, to bring to nought the things that are. I write for the poor, you for the polite and noble;

—GOD

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—GOD will assuredly own and bless what you write.'

HE was much affected about this time with the death of one Mr. Steward, a Minister that began to be popular in the church, but soon entered into his rest. "When I met the workmen to contract about the building, I could scarce bear to think of building Tabernacles. Strange! that so many should be so soon discouraged, and we continued. Mr. Steward spoke for his LORD, as long as he could speak at all. He had no clouds nor darkness. I was with him till a few minutes before he slept in JESUS."

MARCH 1, 1753, he laid the foundation of the new Tabernacle, and preached from Exod. xx. 24. During the building thereof, he preached in Moorfields, Spittalfields and other places in London, and made excursions to Chatham, Sheerness, and Braintree.

IN the month of April, he went to Norwich for a few days, preaching twice a-day to thousands, who attended with the greatest eagerness. At his evening sermons, some rude people made opposition, but without effect. At this time also he published his Expostulatory Letter to Count Zinzendoff, which is in the 4th vol. of his works.

IN May he made another excursion to Narboth, Pembroke, Haverford-west, &c. where congregations were large, and a gracious melting seemed to be among the people. Within little more than a fortnight he rode three hundred and fifty miles, and preached above twenty times.

SUNDAY, June 10, 1753, he opened his new Tabernacle, preaching in the morning from 1. Kings, viii. 11. and in the evening from 1. Chron. xxix. 9.

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVI.

From his opening the New Tabernacle in Moorfields, *to his preaching at the Chapel in* Tottenham-Court Road, 1756.

MR. WHITEFIELD having preached in London at his Tabernacle for a few days with his usual fervor and success, and to large congregations, in the end of the month of June, set out towards Scotland. In his way he had desirable meetings at Oulney and Northampton. He preached also at Liecester, and Nottingham, where a great multitude came to hear, and at Sheffield. In his way to Leeds, next morning, he preached at Rotherham and Wakefield. At the former place he had been disturbed twice or thrice, and was almost determined to preach there no more. But he found this would have been a rash determination; for some who had been bitter persecutors, now received him gladly into their house, and owned that GOD had made him instrumental in their conversion. At Leeds he had great success. At York also he preached four times. Twice they were disturbed, and twice had very agreeable seasons. At Newcastle he preached seven times, and once at Sunderland to great multitudes who were deeply impressed. At five in the morning the great room was filled, and on the LORD'S day, the congregation without was exceeding large. In short, the prospect all around was so promising, that he almost repented of his engagement to go to Scotland, and resolved to come back as soon as possible.

HE proceeded however according to his promise, and having spent some days at Edinburgh and Glasgow

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gow in his usual laborious and earnest manner, and with usual acceptance, he returned to England, August 7.*

All this time he preached twice or thrice a-day, and once five times. This he found rather too much for his strength. But he still went on, often expressing his desires and hopes soon to see his divine Master in glory.

On his return to England, he went from Newcastle to Stockton, Osmotherly, York and Leeds. He assisted at the sacrament at Howarth, where they had a very extraordinary season, and a vast number of communicants. He went as far as Bolton, Manchester and Stockport. The more he preached, the more eager the people seemed to be. The last part of his circuit was to Lincolnshire, Rotherham, Sheffield, Nottingham, and Northampton. He returned to London in the latter end of September, having travelled

* After he had been in Glasgow, the following paragraph appeared in the Newcastle Journal, August 11, 1753. "By a Letter from Edinburgh we are informed, that on the second instant Mr. Whitefield, the Itinerant, being at Glasgow, and preaching to a numerous audience near the Play-house lately built, he inflamed the mob so much against it, that they ran directly from before him, and pulled it down to the ground. Several of the rioters are since taken up, and committed to goal."

It would not have been worth while to transcribe this, were it not another specimen of the unaccountable liberties taken by some of the opposers of Mr. Whitefield in telling their stories concerning him. The fact was this. Mr. Whitefield being informed that the Players had lately come to Glasgow, and had met with some encouragement, took occasion in his sermons to preach against Play-houses, and to represent their pernicious influence on religion and morality, especially in a populous, commercial city, and the seat of a University. But there was no riot. It was the proprietor of the Play-house (at that time a slight temporary booth, supported by the old walls of the Bishop's castle) who ordered his workmen to take it down.

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velled about twelve hundred miles, and preached a hundred and eighty times to many thousands.

His stay in London was but short, for in the month of October he took another tour to Staffordshire. A new scene of usefulness seemed to open to him, while he preached at Oulney, at Oxen, near Harborough, Bosworth, Kettering and Bedford; at all which places he preached in one week. At Birmingham also, and several adjacent places, the people flocked to hear the gospel. At a place near Dudley, called Guarnall, he was informed of a whole company that were awakened by reading his sermons. He met with others awakened years ago, and heard of a notorious persecutor and drunkard, who had been powerfully struck. He loved to break up new ground, as he expresses it; and had the pleasure to find sometimes that his way was prepared by the blessing which God had given to his writings, particularly at Alpesam in Cheshire, and at Liverpool, where a person that had received benefit by reading his sermons, met him at landing, and took him to his house. All was quiet here, and at Chester, where he preached four times, and had several of the clergy in his congregations. But at Wrexham and Nantwich (where a Methodist meeting house had lately been pulled down) he was disturbed by the mob, and forced to remove his congregation to a place a little out of town.

Thus he went on, returning at times for a few days to London. And November 16, writes from Gloucester, "After Lord's-day, I am bound for Bristol and Plymouth, and hope to get into my winter-quarters for some time before Christmas. Glad should I be to travel for Jesus all the year round. It is more to me than my necessary food.

On Sunday, November 25, he opened the new Tabernacle at Bristol, which he observes "was large, but not half large enough; for if the place could contain

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tain them, near as many would attend as in London." He alſo preached twice, in his brother's great houſe, to the quality. Though it was ſo late in the year, he ſet out for Somerſetſhire, and preached ſeveral times in the open air, at ſeven o'clock at night. "My hands and body, (ſays he) were pierced with cold; but what are outward things, when the ſoul within is warmed with the love of God? The ſtars ſhone exceeding bright: by an eye of faith, I ſaw Him who called them all by their names. My ſoul was filled with a holy ambition, and I longed to be one of thoſe who ſhall ſhine as the ſtars for ever and ever." At this time his friend and fellow-laborer, the Rev. Mr. John Weſley, had, by his extraordinary labors, brought his life into great danger, of which Mr. WHITEFIELD thus writes; "Briſtol, December 3, 1753. I am haſtening to London, to pay my laſt reſpects to my dying friend. The phyſicians think his diſeaſe is a galloping conſumption. I pity the church, I pity myſelf, but not him. Poor Mr. Charles will now have double work. But we can do all things through CHRIST ſtrengthening us!" His letters to both the brothers on this occaſion are very affectionate and ſympathizing. And he ſoon had the pleaſure of ſeeing Mr. Weſley recover. December 26, he had a viſit from Meſſieurs Tennent and Davies from America, who came over to procure contributions for the College of New-Jerſey. As they were commiſſioned to apply for a general collection in Scotland, he gave them recommendatory letters, and heartily endeavored to promote their deſign. He ſtayed in London all the winter of 1753,* longing for a ſpring campaign,

* His Letters written about the beginning of the new year, ſhew the habitual frame of his mind. "Near forty years old, and ſuch a dwarf! The winter come already, and ſo little done in the ſummer." Again, "I heartily wiſh your Lordſhip,

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campaign (as he expreſſes it,) that he might begin to do ſomething for his divine Maſter.

MARCH 7, 1754, having got twenty-two poor deſtitute children under his care, he embarked with them for America, by way of Liſbon, where he ſtayed from the 20th of March, to the 13th of April.

FROM Liſbon he writes: "The air agrees with my poor conſtitution extremely, and through divine aſſiſtance, I hope what I ſee will alſo much improve my better part, and help to qualify me better for preaching the everlaſting goſpel: again a gentleman hath moſt gladly received me into his houſe, and behaves like a friend indeed. To day I dine with the Conſul. Every day I have ſeen or heard ſomething, that hath a native tendency to make me thankful for the glorious reformation." After ſight of ſome popiſh proceſſions, which were new and very ſtriking to him, he ſays, "I returned to my lodgings not a little affected, to ſee ſo many thouſands led away from the ſimplicity of the goſpel, by ſuch a mixture of human artifice and blind ſuperſtition, of which, indeed, I could have formed no idea, had I not been an eye-witneſs." He was ſtill more ſhocked at the proceſſion of St. Francis; and moſt of all at the ſight of near two hundred penitents paſſing along the ſtreets in a moon ſhine night, dragging along heavy chains faſtened to their ancles, which made a diſmal rattling, moſt of whom whipped and laſhed themſelves with cords, and with flat bits of iron; and ſome of them ſtruck ſo hard, that their backs were quite red, and very much ſwelled. He wrote a deſcription of this to his friend, with expreſſions of praiſe and gratitude to Providence for the great wonder of the Reformation, and for delivering

ſhip, not the compliments but the bleſſings of the ſeaſon; even all thoſe bleſſings that have been purchaſed for a loſt world, by the death and ſufferings of an incarnate God."

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delivering Britain from the return of ſuch ſpiritual ſlavery, by defeating the unnatural rebellion. "Bleſſed be GOD, (ſays he) the ſnare is broken and we are delivered. O for Proteſtant practices to be added to Proteſtant principles." He further obſerves, "The preachers here have alſo taught me ſomething; their action is graceful, *Vividi oculi, vividæ manus, omnia vivida.* Surely our Engliſh preachers would do well to be a little more fervent in their addreſs. They have truth on their ſide; why ſhould ſuperſtition and falſhood run away with all that is pathetic and affecting?" His two laſt letters from Liſbon contain a long and lively deſcription of the ſuperſtitious farces which he ſaw acted on Holy Thurſday, as they call it, and Good Friday; which he concludes with very ſerious reflections, and expreſſions of pity towards the poor deluded people, who are not allowed to examine matters by the word of GOD.

AFTER a paſſage of ſix weeks from Liſbon, he arrived at Beaufort, in South Carolina, May 27, with his Orphan charge, all quite well. Having ſettled them in his family in Georgia, which now conſiſted of above a hundred, and ſpent ſome time in Carolina, he took a journey to the northward. At Charleſton, (ſays he) and other parts of Carolina, my poor labors have met with the uſual acceptance, and I have reaſon to hope a Clergyman hath been brought under very ſerious impreſſions. My health is wonderfully preſerved. My wonted vomitings have left me, and though I ride whole nights, and have been frequently expoſed to great thunders, violent lightnings, and heavy rains, yet I am rather better than uſual, and as far as I can judge, am not yet to die. O that I may at length learn to begin to live. I am aſhamed of my ſloth and lukewarmneſs, and long to be on the ſtretch for God." He arrived at New-York by water, July 27, and preached backwards and forwards from New-York to Philadelphia,

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Philadelphia, and Whitely Creek, till the middle of September. "Every-where, he obſerves, a divine power accompanied the word, prejudices were removed, and a more effectual door opened than ever, for preaching the goſpel." The latter end of September, he had once more the pleaſure of ſeeing his good old friend Governor Belchier at Elizabeth-Town (New-Jerſey.) And it being the New-Jerſey commencement, the Preſident and the Truſtees preſented Mr. WHITEFIELD with the degree of A. M. The meeting of the ſynod ſucceeded, before whom he preached ſeveral times, and had much ſatisfaction in their company. "To morrow (ſays he) October 1, God willing, I ſhall ſet out with the worthy Preſident (Mr. Burr) for New-England, and expect to return back to the Orphan-houſe, through Virginia. This will be about a two thouſand miles circuit; but the REDEEMER'S ſtrength will be more than ſufficient." He had alſo ſome thoughts of going to the Weſt-Indies, had it been practicable, before his return to England.

He arrived with Preſident Burr, at Boſton, October 9, and preached there a week with great acceptance. "At Rhode Iſland and Boſton (ſays he) ſouls fly to the goſpel, like doves to the windows. Oppoſition ſeems to fall daily." When he was at Boſton, he heard to his great joy that a Governor was at length nominated for Georgia, and that his friend Mr. Haberſham was made ſecretary; to whom he writes, "May the King of kings enable you to diſcharge your truſt, as becomes a good patriot, ſubject, and Chriſtian!" At this time, he went as far north as Portſmouth (New Hampſhire) preaching always twice and ſometimes thrice a day: his reception at Boſton was more favorable than that fourteen years before; and in general his labors ſeemed to be attended with as great a bleſſing as ever. He took leave of the Boſ-

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ton people at four in the morning, November 7, and went to Rhode Island; from thence through Maryland* and Virginia, where the prospect of doing good was so promising, that he was sorry he had not come sooner. Many came forty or fifty miles to hear him; and a spirit of conviction and consolation seemed to run through all the assemblies. Three churches were opened to him. Prejudices subsided; some of the rich and great began to think favorably of his ministrations; and several of the lower class came to him, and acknowledged what God had done for them by his preaching, when there before.

In the month of February, 1755, he got back to Charleston, and from thence went to Savannah; continuing in these places till the latter end of March, when he embarked for England. And on the 8th of May, arrived at Newhaven in Sussex.

The first thing he took notice of, was the success of the gospel in his native country: "Glory be to the great Head of the Church! the word hath still free course. The poor despised Methodists are as lively as ever; and in several churches, the gospel is now preached with power. Many in Oxford are awakened to the knowledge of the truth, and I have heard almost every week of some fresh Minister or another, that seems determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified.† This consideration seems to have reanimated him. He went on preaching earnestly at London, Bristol, Bath, and in Gloucestershire, till the month of August. Then he went to Norwich, and opened the Tabernacle there.

"At

* "At length I have got into Maryland, and into a family, out of which, I trust, five have been born of God."

† In the M.S. he puts down the names of Jones, Romaine, Madan: of whom it appears he intended to have written more particularly.

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"At this place, (says he) notwithstanding offences have come, there has been a glorious work begun, and is now carrying on. (August 30, 1755.) The polite and great seem to hear with much attention, and I scarce ever preached a week together with greater freedom."

After this he went his northern circuit, and found reason to bless God for giving countenance to his labors all the way; particularly, at Northampton, Liverpool, Bolton, Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, and York.* But when he had been some days at Newcastle, he found it too late to go to Ireland, (as he once proposed) or even to Scotland: He returned therefore to London, October 30, preaching twice and thrice a-day for two months, to many thousands. At this time, he says, "Next to Jesus, my King and Country were upon my heart. I hope I shall always think it my bounden duty, next to inviting sinners to the blessed Jesus, to exhort my hearers to exert themselves against the first approaches of Popish tyranny, and arbitrary power.† O that we may be enabled to watch and pray, against all the opposition of Antichrist in our hearts; for after all, there lies the most dangerous man of sin. About the end of November. he preached in pain, occasioned by a sore throat, which was like to have terminated in an inflammatory quinsey. This obliged him, much against his will, to be silent a few days. As soon as the danger

* "At York, I hope, a fine gentleman was touched; and several I find were awakened there, and at Newcastle, at my last visit."

† This refers to the encroachments made by the French upon the British Colonies in America; and their threatening Great Britain with an invasion; which occasioned a declaration of war against France next year.

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danger seemed to be over, he fell to work again.*—He was now applied to by many serious persons, to preach twice a-week at Long-acre Chapel, near the play-houses. Being informed that the place was licensed, he complied and preached there for the first time, on December 23, 1755; but met with great difficulties. The Bishop of B—— sent him a prohibition. There was also a number of soldiers, drummers, and many of the lower sort of people, hired to disturb him, by making a noise in the neighboring house, or yard, of one Mr. C——; and this not once or twice, but every time he preached at that Chapel; being hired by subscription, and provided with a copper furnace, bells, drums, clappers, &c. they made it their business to raise the loudest din they possibly could, from the moment he began preaching, to the end of his sermon. By which, also, mobbers were encouraged to come and riot at the Chapel-door, during the time of divine service, and then insult and abuse him, and the congregation, after it was over. The Chapel windows, while he was preaching, were repeatedly broken by large stones, which sadly wounded some of the hearers. Upon this occasion, Mr. WHITEFIELD wrote several spirited letters to the Bishop of B——, acknowledging, indeed, his Lordship's candor, and thanking him for his favorable opinion and good wishes; (for the Bishop had wrote an answer to his first letter) but, at the same time, with great strength of reason, and a becoming sense of British liberty, defending his own conduct, and remonstrating against the riotous proceedings of his adversaries, "Last Tuesday night, (says he) all was hushed. And in order to throw off the popular odium, I gave it as my opinion, that it was owing to

* "One Physician prescribed a *perpetual blister*; but I have found *perpetual preaching* to be a better remedy. When this grand catholicon fails, it is over with me."

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to your Lordship's kind interposition. One Mr. C. and one Mr. M. I am informed, are greatly concerned. I know them not; and I pray the LORD of all lords never to lay this ill and unmerited treatment to their charge. If no more noise is made on their part, I assure your Lordship, no further resentment shall be made on mine. But, if they persist, I have the authority of the Apostle on a like occasion, to appeal unto Cæsar. And thanks be to GOD, we have a Cæsar to appeal to, whose laws will not suffer any of his loyal subjects to be used in such an inhuman manner. I have only one favor to beg of your Lordship, that you would send (as they are your Lordship's parishioners) to the above gentlemen, and desire them henceforward, to desist from such unchristian, (and especially, at this critical juncture,) such riotous and dangerous proceedings. Whether as a Chaplain to a most worthy Peeress, and a Presbyter of the Church of England, and a steady disinterested friend to our present happy constitution, I have not a right to ask such a favor, I leave to your Lordship's mature deliberation." In the mean-time, his preaching was owned by GOD: particularly as to one, who had been a subscriber to hire men to make the noise.

IN the beginning of February, 1756, he sent eighty pounds of the collection which he had made at the Tabernacle, on the day of the public fast, to the society for relieving the poor persecuted French Protestants.*

As the uproar was still continued at Long-acre Chapel, and the facts were so flagrant, he was advised to prosecute the offenders by law. This being understood, his life was threatened. A man came up to him, in the pulpit at the Tabernacle, and three anonymous

* This year, 1756, he published, "A short Address to Persons of all Denominations, occasioned by the Alarm of an intended Invasion." Inserted in Vol. IV. of his Works.

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anonymous letters were sent him, denouncing a certain, sudden and unavoidable stroke, unless he desisted from preaching, and pursuing the offenders. Judging that others were concerned as well as himself, and that it was an affair that had reference to the welfare of civil government, he sent a copy of one of the letters to the Honorable Hume C——ll, begging the favor of his advice; and was advised by all means, to put all concerned into the court of King's-Bench. The Earl of Holderness, (one of the secretaries of state) to whom he was introduced on this occasion, received him very courteously, and seemed to have no objection against issuing a reward for the discovery of the letter-writer. "I find," says Mr. WHITEFIELD, in his letter to Lady H——n, May 2, 1756, "that all things happen for the furtherance of the Gospel. I suppose your Ladyship has seen his Majesty's promise of a pardon, to any that will discover the letter-writer; and this brings the further news of my having taken a piece of ground, very commodious to build on, not far from the Foundling Hospital. I have opened the subscription, and through God's blessing, it hath already amounted to near six hundred pounds. I hope, in a few months, to have what hath been long wanted, a place for the Gospel, at the other end of the town. This evening, God willing, I venture once more to preach at Long-acre." The place he here speaks of, is the chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, which he began to build May 10, 1756.

AFTER this he set out on one of his wonted tours, and having spent three weeks in preaching, with usual success, at Bristol, and in Gloucestershire, at Bradford, Frome, Warminster, and at Portsmouth, he returned to London in the beginning of June.

JULY 27, he writes "The gospel flourishes in London. I am just returned from preaching it at Sheerness,

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neſs, Chatham, and in the camp." Next day he ſet off for Scotland. How he employed his time in his way thither, appears from the following letter. "Sunderland, Auguſt. 14, 1756: How ſwiftly doth my precious time fly away! It is now a fortnight ſince I came to Leeds, in and about which, I preached eight days, thrice almoſt every day, to thronged and affected auditories. On Saturday laſt at Bradford, in the morning, the auditory conſiſted of about ten thouſand; at noon, and in the evening at Burſtall, to near double the number. Though hoarſe, I was helped to ſpeak ſo, that all heard. Next morning, I took a ſorrowful leave of Leeds, preached at Doncaſter at noon, and at York the ſame night; on Wedneſday at Wawſtall, about fifty miles off; on Thurſday, twice at Yarm, and laſt night, and this morning here." All the way he heard of a great concern, ſince he was in theſe parts laſt year.

UPON preſſing invitation from friends in the North, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived Auguſt 20, and preached there* and at Glaſgow, as uſual, till September 22; about which time he received a meſſage from the new Governor of Georgia in London, deſiring to ſee and converſe with him before he embarked.

IN

* "Edinburgh, September 9, 1756. For near theſe three weeks, the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD hath been preaching in the Orphan-Hoſpital-Park, to very crouded auditories, twice every day. As he was frequently very explicit in opening the miſeries of Popiſh tyranny, and arbitrary power; and very warm in exhorting his hearers to loyalty and courage at home, and in ſtirring them up to pray for the ſucceſs of his Majeſty's forces, both by ſea and land abroad; we have reaſon to believe, that his viſit at this juncture hath been particularly uſeful." *Glaſgow Courant.*

"Edinburgh, September 23. On Tueſday evening, the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, after ſermon, made a collection for the poor Highlanders, when upwards of ſixty pounds ſterling was collected." *Ibid.*

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In his way to London, he again visited Leeds, and went some days into good Mr. G—— and Mr. J——'s round, preaching upon the mountains to many thousands. But finding his last year's disorder was like to return, he was obliged to leave off, and came to London, in the end of October; and November the 7th, opened his new Chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, preaching from 1. Cor. iii. 11.

CHAP. XVII.

From his opening his Chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, *to his Arrival in* Edinburgh, *in the Year* 1759.

His constant work was now preaching about fifteen times a-week, which, with a weak appetite, want of rest,* and much care lying upon his mind, enfeebled his body exceedingly. "But (says he) the joy of the Lord is my strength, and my greatest grief is, that I can do no more for Him, who hath done and suffered so much for me."

His new Chapel succeeded according to his wish. On Sunday-mornings hundreds went away, not being able to get in. Some people of distinction came, and begged they might have a constant seat; and he received a very serious letter, from a person who was brought under concern there, though he came at first out of curiosity, to see what sort of place it was.†

In

* "I could enlarge, but it is near six in the morning, and I must away to preach."

† "A neighboring Doctor calls the place Whitefield's Soul-trap. I pray the friend of sinners, to make it a Soul-trap

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In spring 1757, he set out again on his northern circuit, and came to Edinburgh in the month of May, when the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland held their annual meeting. He was much pleased with this circumstance. Many ministers attended his sermons, perhaps a hundred at a time. Thereby prejudices were removed, and many of them seemed to be deeply affected. About thirty of them, as a token of respect, invited him to a public entertainment.

The King's Commissioner also invited him to his table.‡ Thousands, among whom were a great many of the best rank, daily attended his ministrations, and the longer he staid, the more the congregations increased.

From Edinburgh he went to Glasgow, where, having preached twice by the way, he arrived June 8, and continued till the 14th preaching, as usual, in the High Church-yard, to great multitudes, both morning and evening, in one of the churches of the city. The poor in Glasgow being at this time in very mournful circumstances, notwithstanding the various sources of supply, he (with the countenance of the Magistrates) made a collection for them, at his sermon on Monday-evening, which amounted to near sixty pounds. Next day he preached at Paisley; and from thence set out for Ireland. His

trap indeed, to many wandering creatures. —— S—, the player, makes always one of the auditory, and, as I hear, is much impressed, and brings others with him."

‡ Some of the Scotch clergy, who were prejudiced against Mr. Whitefield, took upon them to signify to the Commissioner, (Lord C-the-rt) by some of their friends, that it would be better not to invite Mr. Whitefield to his table; and that it would give offence. This overture his Grace received with indignation.

The Earl of L—— also, who was the King's Commissioner before Lord C-the-rt, shewed particular attention to Mr. Whitefield: and from the time of his first coming to Scotland, shewed great and constant regard for him.

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His first reception was promising as formerly. Congregations at Dublin were very large, and much affected. One of the Bishops told a Nobleman, (who repeated it to Mr. WHITEFIELD) that he was glad he was come to rouse the people. All sorts attended, and all sorts seemed to be struck with a religious concern. But on Sunday afternoon, July 3, after preaching in Oxman-town-green, (a place frequented by the Ormond and Liberty boys, as they call them, who often fight there) he narrowly escaped with his life. It being war time, he took occasion to exhort his hearers, (as was his usual practice) not only to fear GOD, but to honor the King; and prayed for success to the King of Prussia. In the time of sermon and prayer, a few stones were thrown at him, which did no hurt. But when he had done, and thought to return home, the way he came, by the Barracks, to his great surprize access was denied: and he was obliged to go near half a mile, from one end of the Green to the other, through hundreds of Papists, &c. who finding him unattended, (for a soldier and four preachers who came with him, had fled) threw vollies of stones upon him from all quarters, and made him reel backwards and forwards, till he was almost breathless, and all over a gore of blood.* At last with great difficulty, he staggered to the door of a minister's house lying next to the Green, which was kindly opened to him. For a while he continued speechless and panting for breath; but his weeping friends having given him some cordials, and washed his wounds, a coach was procured, in which, amidst the oaths, imprecations, and threatenings of the Popish rabble, he got safe home; and joined in a hymn

* I received many blows and wounds; one was particularly large, and near my temples. I thought of Stephen, and was in hopes, like him, to go off in this bloody triumph, to the immediate presence of my Master."

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hymn of thankſgiving with his friends, by whom, he ſays, "none but ſpectators could form an idea of the affection with which he was received." Next morning he ſat out for Port Arlington, "Leaving, (ſays he) my perſecutors to his mercy, who of perſecutors has often made preachers. I pray GOD, I may thus be avenged of them."

AFTER preaching at Port Arlington, Athlone, Limerick, and Cork; in the beginning of Auguſt he returned to England; and while the weather permitted, continued to range, (as he expreſſes it) preaching with great earneſtneſs every where.—"This ſpiritual hunting, (ſays he) is delightful ſport, when the heart is in the work." At Plymouth he had the pleaſure of ſeeing officers, ſoldiers, ſailors, &c. attending his ſermons with the utmoſt ſolemnity. In Exeter alſo, Briſtol, Glouceſter, and Glouceſterſhire, he had delightful ſeaſons. About the middle of October, 1757, he returned to London.

HIS attendance this winter in both the Chapel and the Tabernacle, together with his thoughtfulneſs, greatly impaired his health. He was troubled with continual vomitings, got little ſleep, and had no appetite. Still, however, he went on as well as he could. "I am brought now, (ſays he) to the ſhort allowance of preaching but once a-day, and twice on a Sunday." But when he was not preaching, he was projecting ſome ſcheme or other for the advancement of religion: for inſtance, the building the almshouſes for pious widows, on the ground that ſurrounded his Chapel. "I have a plan, (ſays he) for twelve. The whole expence will be four hundred pounds. I have got a proſpect of two. I propoſe allowing each widow half-a-crown a-week. The ſacrament-money will more than do. If this be effected, many godly widows will be provided for, and

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and a ſtanding monument left that the Methodiſts were not againſt good works." It was not long till this plan was put in execution. The foundation of the alms-houſes was laid February 16, 1758, and the widows began to be admitted in June following.

He began his ſummer-circuit this year at Glouceſter: from thence he went to Briſtol, and then to Wales. When he was in Wales, he was brought very low in his health. He was not able to ſit up in company, as he uſed to do; and could take very little food. Yet continued travelling and preaching twice a-day, through various towns in South Wales, where multitudes attended; on Sundays the numbers were almoſt incredible.

In the month of July he ſet off for Scotland. In his way he preached at Everton, St. Neots, Kayſo, Bedford, Oulney, Weſton, Underwood, Ravenſtone, Northampton, and Newcaſtle. Four clergymen lent him their pulpits. His bodily ſtrength increaſed ſo little by this journey, that he ſometimes had thoughts of turning back. But this he did not think to be his duty. "Through divine ſtrength, (ſays he) I hope to go forward, and ſhall ſtrive, as much as in me lies, to die in this glorious work." Yet it pleaſed God to reſtore his health in a good meaſure, ſoon after his arrival in Scotland. From Edinburgh he writes, Auguſt 19 and 24. "For theſe four months laſt paſt, I have been brought ſo exceeding low in my body, that I was in hopes, every ſermon I preached would waft me to my wiſhed for home. Scotland, I hoped, would finiſh my warfare; but it has rather driven me back to ſea again. On Tueſday next, I thought to have moved; but as it is race-week, and my health is improving, friends adviſe me to ſtay, to ſtir them up to run with patience the race that is ſet before us.* Having

* "Edinburgh, September 14, 1758. Mr. Whitefield's preſence, at this time, has been particularly uſeful to the Or-

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HAVING left Edinburgh, September 13, he preached in a great many places in the north of England, Alnwick, Newcaſtle, Durham, Biſhop-Auckland, Leeds, &c. and came to London about the end of October.

HE now talked of going over again to America, where his affairs were in a good ſituation: "Bleſſed be GOD, (ſays he) that I can ſend you word, a never-failing Providence hath put it into my power to pay off all Betheſda's arrears. I am talking every day of coming over; but how to do it in war-time, or how to get the Chapel and Tabernacle ſupplied, I cannot as yet be clear in." Not being able, it ſeems, to get over theſe difficulties, he continued all winter 1758, in London, and about the middle of May, 1759, opened his ſpring campaign at Briſtol. In the month of June he was in Glouceſterſhire and Yorkſhire, where people, high and low, rich and poor, flocked, as uſual, to hear him, twice a-day;† and from thence re-viſited Scotland.

phan-Hoſpital, for which upwards of two hundred pounds hath been raiſed from the collection at the doors, and ſeat-rents. Before he left Glaſgow, he made a collection for the Glaſgow Charitable Highland Society, for ſupporting and educating poor Highland children; a ſcheme particularly uſeful at this time, when ſo many of their parents and friends are abroad in America, in his Majeſty's ſervice. During his ſtay here, he has had occaſion to preach three thankſgiving ſermons, for the victory at Crevelt, the taking of Cape Breton, and the late defeat of the Ruſſians. By his warm and repeated exhortations to loyalty, and a ſteady adherence to the Proteſtant intereſt, on this, and all other occaſions, it muſt be acknowledged, even in this view, his viſit here has been uſeful to the community in a civil, as well as religious light."—*Glaſgow Courant.*

† "I am growing fat; but, as I take it to be a diſeaſe, hope I ſhall go home the ſooner."

CHAP.

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CHAP. XVIII.

From his Arrival at Edinburgh, 1759, *to his opening Lady* Huntingdon's *Chapel at* Bath, *in the Year* 1765.

ABOUT the beginning of July 1759, he came to Edinburgh; his congregations here and at Glaſgow were very large, and very attentive, as formerly.* But he complains in his letters, "that with reſpect to the power of religion, it was a dead time in Scotland in comparison with London, and ſeveral other parts of England."

His viſit to Scotland this year, gave occaſion to a paſſage, which was much for his honor, and a full confutation of the mercenary motives aſcribed to him by ſome of his adverſaries. One Miſs Hunter, a young lady of conſiderable fortune, made a full offer to him of her eſtate, both money and lands, amounting to about ſeven hundred pounds, which he generouſly

* "Edinburgh, Auguſt 15, 1759. On Tueſday-morning the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD ſet out on his return for England. It is ſaid, that here and at Glaſgow, within theſe ſix weeks he has preached near a hundred times, and yet the congregations were always increaſing. Whatever this be owing to, every body muſt judge for themſelves: but it is certain he continually exerted all his rhetoric in ſtirring up a zeal for his GOD, his King and his country, in the time of danger; and ſeemed particularly pleaſed, as were thouſands more, that he had an opportunity laſt LORD'S Day-evening, of preaching a thankſgiving ſermon to a moſt thronged auditory, on account of the glorious victory lately vouchſafed to Prince Ferdinand over the French.

"The ſum collected for the benefit of the Orphan-Hoſpital, during his ſtay here, amounted to two hundred and fifteen pounds."

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ously refused. And upon his refusing it for himself, she offered it to him for the benefit of his Orphan-house in Georgia. Which he also absolutely refused. These facts the compiler has from undoubted authority.

He spent the winter* in London, and got his Chapel enlarged.

March 14, 1760, he made a collection at his Chapel and Tabernacle, of above four hundred pounds, for the distressed Prussians, who had suffered so much from the cruelty of the Russians, at Newmark, Costrin, &c.†

In summer 1760, he went into Gloucestershire and Wales, and from thence to Bristol. When he preached at the Tabernacle in Bristol, there were more in the evenings than it could well hold; and in the fields his congregations consisted of not less than ten thousand.

He now began to undergo a new kind of persecution (which however has sometimes fallen upon men of the greatest eminence) that of being mimicked and burlesqued upon the stage.‡ His enemies had in vain used violence against him, and having found that the law would not suffer them to proceed in that way, they therefore thought they would try what they could

* October 1759, he wrote a preface to Mr. Samuel Clark's Bible. See his Works, Vol. IV.

† For this disinterested act of benevolence, it is said, he received the thanks of his Prussian majesty.

‡ The compiler is uncertain as to the time when this was first done. Mr. Whitefield first takes notice of it in his letter dated August 15, 1760. It seems to have taken its rise from the resentment of the play-house people, after they failed in their attempt to frighten him from preaching at Long-acre chapel, and were farther exasperated by seeing him erect a chapel of his own in Tottenham-court-road.

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could do by mockery. For this purpose, they got for their tool one Samuel Foote, a mimic, who having had some success in imitating Mr. WHITEFIELD's person, and speaking a few ludicrous sentences in his manner, was encouraged to proceed further, and to write a farce (called the Minor) to be acted at the Theatre in Drury-lane.* This performance is otherwise very dull and uninteresting; but by its impiety, it cannot fail to excite the indignation of the religious and sober-minded. For, in order to expose Mr. WHITEFIELD to contempt, the author makes no scruple to treat the very expressions and sentiments of the Bible with ridicule; or (to put the most favorable construction upon the matter) he and those whom he sent to the Tabernacle and Chapel to procure materials, were so little acquainted with the sacred writings, as not to know, that what they took for Mr. WHITEFIELD's peculiar language, was the language of the word of GOD.‡ Be this as it may, they

* See a Letter to David Garrick, Esq. occasioned by the intended representation of the Minor at Drury-lane Theatre, said to be written by the Rev. Mr. Madan.

‡ Mr. Foote being manager of the Edinburgh Theatre in winter 1770, the Minor was acted there. The first night it was pretty thronged, as people fond of any novelty were led to it without knowing any thing of the nature of the performance. But (such was the public sense of the impurity and indecency of it when known) that on the second night, only ten women appeared. When it was acted on Saturday, November 24, a dispute arose among the spectators, whether it was proper to bring Mr. WHITEFIELD upon the stage, as he was now dead? This, however, was done; and raised a general indignation in the inhabitants of that city. Next day several ministers (the Rev. Dr. Erskine, Dr. Walker, &c.) took notice of it in their discourses from the pulpit. Dr. Walker (whose church is frequented by the people of higher rank) observed in his lecture upon 2. Cor. v. 14,—21, that he could not read the 17th verse, "If any man be in CHRIST, he is

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they loſt their labor, for they were ſo far from leſſening the number of his congregations, that they increaſed them; and brought thouſands of new perſons to hear the goſpel; which was the very thing he always aimed at: and thus Providence gave him the victory over them.

MARCH 14, 1760, he preached at the Chapel from Hoſ. xi. 8, 9. and at the Tabernacle in the evening from the 80th Pſalm and laſt verſe. At the former place he collected two hundred and twenty two pounds, eight ſhillings and nine-pence; and at the other, one hundred and eighty two pounds, fifteen ſhillings and nine pence, for the diſtreſſed Proteſtants in Pruſſia. No man was a more ſtrict obſerver of public occurrences, or more endeavored to improve them.

IN the month of September and October 1760, he made a tour through Yorkſhire; and was in London, during the winter, employed as uſual. On the faſt-day, Feb. 13, 1761, he preached early in the morning at the Tabernacle on Exod. xxxiv. 1, &c. and collected one hundred and twelve pounds; in the forenoon he labored at the Chapel, and diſcourſed on Joel ii. 15. and afterwards collected two hundred and forty-two pounds; and in the evening he preached at the Taber-

is a new creature," without expreſſing the juſt indignation he felt, upon hearing that laſt night a profane piece of buffoonry was publicly acted, in which this ſacred doctrine is ridiculed. Mr. Baine, of the Kirk of Relief, preached a ſermon upon the occaſion, December 2, from Pſalm xciv. 16. which was publiſhed and ſold off in a few days. Towards the concluſion of the ſermon, he ſays, "How baſe and ungrateful is ſuch treatment of the dead: and that too ſo very nigh to a family of orphans, the records of whoſe hoſpital will tranſmit Mr. WHITEFIELD's name to poſterity with honor, when the memory of others will rot. How illiberal ſuch uſage of one, whoſe ſeaſonable good ſervices for his King and Country are well known; whoſe indefatigable labors for his beloved Maſter were countenanced by Heaven"

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Tabernacle from Gen. vii. 1. and collected two hundred and ten pounds. These sums were immediately applied to the noble purposes for which they were collected, the relief of the German Protestants, and the sufferers by fire at Boston.*

But his health, which had often been very bad† now grew worse and worse, so that in April 1761, he was brought to the gates of death. After his recovery, being still exceeding weak, and not able to preach as formerly, he left London, and made a visit to Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, by which he found himself somewhat better; but could not bear long journies and frequent preaching as he used to do‡.

October, 1761, he complains, "I have not preached a single sermon for some weeks. Last Sunday I spoke a little; but I feel its effects ever since. A sea-voyage seems more necessary to me now than ever.

* Four hundred pounds were assigned to the Germans, and given into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen.

"Boston, Feb. 27, 1764. At a meeting of the freeholders, and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, on Friday last, it was voted unanimously, that the thanks of the town be given to the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, for his charitable care and pains in collecting a considerable sum of money in Great Britain, for the distressed sufferers by the great fire in Boston, 1762; and a respectable committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Whitefield, to inform him of the vote, and present him with a copy thereof." *Boston Gazette.*

† It was happy for him, that he frequently got the assistance of clergymen from the country; and at this time particularly of the Rev. Mr. Berridge, late Moderator of Cambridge, of whom he writes—"A new instrument is raised up, out of Cambridge University. He has been here preaching with great flame, and like an angel of the churches indeed."—The compiler is informed that the Rev. Mr. Berridge, at Everton, still continues zealous and successful.

‡ The MS. (which after the year 1748, contains only very short and imperfect hints) ends here.

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ever. I know now what nervous diſorders are. Bleſſed be God that they were contracted in his ſervice; I do not repent—though I am frequently tempted to wiſh the report of my death had been true, ſince my diſorder keeps me from my old delightful work of preaching." In a journey to Leeds and Newcaſtle, this month, he could bear riding in a poſt-chaiſe, but preaching ſeldom, his friends being ſo prudent as not to preſs him to it: "I hope however, ſays he, I am travelling in order to preach." Accordingly he prolonged his journey the length of Edinburgh and Glaſgow, and did not return to London till the month of December; when he found himſelf conſiderably better, which (under GOD) he attributed to his following the ſimple preſcription of four eminent phyſicians in Edinburgh; being ſenſible, as he ſaid, that their advice had been more bleſſed, for his recovery, than all the medicines and directions he had elſewhere.

As ſoon as his health was in ſome meaſure reſtored, he fell to his beloved work again. From Briſtol, April 1762, he writes, "Briſtol air agrees with me. I have been enabled to preach five times, this laſt week, without being hurt. Who knows but I may yet be reſtored ſo far as to ſound the Goſpel-trumpet for my GOD? The quietneſs I enjoy here, with daily riding out, ſeems to be one very proper means." He continued thus to preach four or five times a-week, notwithſtanding his weakneſs, till about the middle of May; and was ſometimes enabled to "take the field," as he expreſſes it, which gave him great joy; "Mounts," ſays he, "are the beſt pulpits, and the heavens the beſt ſounding boards. O for power equal to my will! I would fly from pole to pole, publiſhing the everlaſting goſpel of the SON of GOD." When he returned to London, the cares and labors that thronged upon him were ready to bring him low again. In the month of July, therefore he made a voy-

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age to Holland,† and found himself so much the better for it, that he writes from Norwich, July 31, "The expedition to Holland, was, I trust, profitable to myself and others; and if ever my usefulness is to be continued at London, I must be prepared for it by a longer itineration both by land and water. At present, blessed be GOD, I can preach once a-day; and it would do your heart good to see what an influence attends the word. All my old times are revived again."

AUGUST 18, he arrived at Edinburgh, made a visit to Glasgow, where he preached every day (and twice at Cambuslang and continued preaching once a-day at Edinburgh till September 13, when he returned to England: and was glad (now that peace was expected) of the prospect of embarking soon for America.

WHILE in England, he found that preaching once a day did not hurt him, but dared not venture oftener. At Leeds, Bristol, and Plymouth, he had very desirable seasons; but with respect to London, he says, "As affairs are circumstanced, every thing there tends to weigh me down." Having therefore persuaded some of his intimate friends, as trustees, to take upon them the whole care of the affairs of his Chapel and Tabernacle, and all his other concerns at home; he resolved to sail from Greenock in Scotland. On his way thither, in the month of March 1763, he preached at Everton, Leeds, Aberford, Kippax, and Newcastle, and was also employed in writing his Observations, &c. in answer to Bishop Warburton.

WHEN he came to Scotland, he continued to preach once a-day, for some weeks; but being taken ill of his old disorder at Edinburgh, he was obliged to be silent (for the most part) for near six weeks afterwards. At last, in the beginning of June, he embarked

† He preached at Rotterdam four times.

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barked the ſixth time for America, in the ſhip Fanny, Captain Archibald Galbreath, bound from Greenock to Virginia: where (after a voyage of twelve weeks) he arrived in the latter end of Auguſt.*

His letters in September, October, and November, 1763, are dated from Philadelphia. He found himſelf ſtill an invalid; yet made ſhift to preach twice a-week. "Here, (ſays he) are ſome young bright witneſſes riſing up in the church. Perhaps I have already converſed with forty new-creature miniſters of various denominations. Sixteen hopeful ſtudents, I am credibly informed, were converted at New-Jerſey College laſt year. What an open door, if I had ſtrength! Laſt Tueſday we had a remarkable ſeaſon among the Lutherans; children and grown people were much impreſſed."

He wanted much to go forward to Georgia, but the phyſicians were abſolutely againſt it, till he got more ſtrength. In the latter end of November he ſet out from Philadelphia for New-York, and on his way preached ſeveral times at New-Jerſey College and Elizabeth-Town, with much acceptance. His ſpirits now grew better, and he could ſometimes preach thrice a week. While he continued at New-York during the winter, he writes, "Prejudices in this place have moſt ſtrangely ſubſided. The better ſort flock as eagerly as the common people, and are fond of coming for private goſpel-converſation.—Congregations continue very large, and I truſt ſaving impreſſions are made upon many."† After

* "—— Thanks to a never failing Redeemer, I have not been laid by an hour through ſickneſs, ſince I came on board. A kind captain, and a moſt orderly and quiet ſhip's company, who gladly attended when I had breath to preach. Scarce an oath have I heard upon deck—and ſuch a ſtillneſs through the whole ſhip, both on week-days and the Lord's-day, as hath from time to time ſurprized me."

† "New-York, January 23, 1764. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield

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AFTER leaving New-York, he preached at East-Hampton, Bridge-Hampton, and Southold, upon Long-Island; at Shelter-Island also; and at New-London, Norwich, and Providence, on the main land. Then proceeded to Boston, where he arrived in the latter end of February, 1764, and was received with usual warmth of affection. But as the small-pox was spreading through the town, he chose to preach for a while in the adjacent places. At Newbury a great influence attended his preaching. He writes from Concord to his friend Mr. S— S—, "How would you have been delighted to have seen Mr. Wheelock's Indians? Such a promising nursery of future missionaries, I believe, was never seen in New-England before; pray encourage it with all your might. I also wish you could give some useful puritanical books to Harvard-College Library, lately burnt down.*

IN

WHITEFIELD has spent seven weeks with us, preaching twice a-week to more general acceptance than ever; and been treated with great respect by many of the gentlemen and merchants of this place. During his stay, he preached two charity sermons; the one on the occasion of the annual collection for the poor, in which double the sum was collected that ever was upon the like occasion; the other was for the benefit of Mr. Wheelock's Indian School at Lebanon, in New England, for which he collected (notwithstanding the present prejudices of many people against the Indians) the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds. In his last sermon he took a very affectionate leave of the people of this city, who expressed great concern at his departure. May GOD restore this great and good man (in whom the gentleman, the Christian, and accomplished orator shine forth with such lustre) to a perfect state of health, and continue him long a blessing to the world, and the Church of CHRIST." *Boston Gazette.*

* Some years after the gentlemen of Harvard College expressed their gratitude to Mr. WHITEFIELD by the following vote. "At a meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard-College, August 22, 1768. The Rev. Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD having, in addition to his former kindness to

Harvard

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In the month of April he had a return of his diſorder; but it did not keep him long from preaching: and the Boſton people were exceedingly eager to hear. He was thinking to proceed immediately ſouthward, but they ſent after him and perſuaded him to come back. June 1, 1764. He writes,—"Friends have even conſtrained me to ſtay here, for fear of running into the ſummer's heat. Hitherto I find the benefit of it. Whatever it is owing to, through mercy I am much better in health than I was this time twelve months, and can now preach thrice a-week to very large auditories, without hurt. And every day I hear of ſome brought under concern. This is all of grace."

After a ſorrowful parting, he left Boſton, and came back to New-York, from whence his letters are dated from the end of June till the latter end of Auguſt. "At preſent, (ſays he) my health is better than uſual, and as yet I have felt no inconvenience from the ſummer's heat.—I have preached twice lately in the fields, and we ſat under the bleſſed Redeemer's ſhadow with great delight. My late excurſions upon Long-Iſland, I truſt, have been bleſſed. It would ſurprize you to ſee above one hundred carriages at every ſermon, in this new world.

In

Harvard-College, lately preſented to the Library, a new Edition of his Journals, and having procured large benefactions from ſeveral benevolent and reſpectable gentlemen;—*Voted*, That the Thanks of the Corporation be given to the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, for theſe inſtances of Candor and Generoſity.

PRESENT,

The Preſident,
Mr. Appleton,
Mr. Profeſſor Winthrop,
Dr. Elliot,
Dr. Cooper,
Treaſurer Hubbard.

A true Copy, per
Edward Holyoke,
Preſident.

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In September and October he was at Philadelphia; the Provoſt of the College there read prayers for him. Both the preſent and late Governor, with the principal gentlemen of the city attended, and thanks were ſent to him from the truſtees, for ſpeaking for the charity-children, and countenancing the inſtitution.

From Philadelphia he proceeded ſouthward thro' Virginia. And November 22, at New Brunſwick, in Carolina, he writes, "At Newbern laſt Sunday, good impreſſions were made.—From that place to this, I have met with what they call New-Lights,* almoſt every ſtage.—I have the names of ſix or eight of their preachers. This, with every other place, being open and exceedingly deſirous to hear the Goſpel, makes me almoſt determine to come back early in the ſpring."

After preaching at Charleſton, he arrived at Savannah in December, where he found affairs proſpering to his wiſh: "The colony, (ſays he) is riſing faſt; nothing but plenty at Bethesda, and all arrears, I truſt, will be paid off before I leave it; ſo that in a ſhort time I hope to be free from theſe outward incumbrances." And he was not diſappointed in his expectations; for he writes, "Bethesda, January 14, 1765,—God hath given me great favor in the ſight of the Governor, Council and Aſſembly. A memorial was preſented for an additional grant of lands, conſiſting of two thouſand acres. It was immediately complied with. Both houſes addreſſed the Governor in behalf of the intended College. As warm an anſwer was given.† Every heart ſeems to leap for joy at

* A name given to thoſe who favored the revival of religion under the miniſtry of Mr. *Whitefield*, Mr. Tennent, &c.

† See the Memorial, Addreſs and Anſwer, in Vol. III. of his Works, page 469, &c.

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at the prospect of its future utility."——Again, "Bethesda, February 13. Yesterday morning the Governor and Lord J. A. G——n, with several other gentlemen, favored me with their company to breakfast. But how was my Lord surprized and delighted! After expressing himself in the strongest terms, he took me aside and informed me, that the Governor had shewed him the accounts, by which he found what a great benefactor I had been; that the intended College would be of the utmost utility, to this and the neighboring provinces; that the plan was beautiful, rational, and practicable; and that he was persuaded his Majesty would highly approve of, and also favor it with some peculiar marks of his royal bounty.*

HAVING left Bethesda in such comfortable circumstances, February 18,† he delayed his proposed tour to the northward, and thought it best to embark directly for England, to finish the affair about the College. He spent some time, however, at Charleston, in the month of March, and after a very affectionate parting, set out for Philadelphia, preaching, as he went along, in several places :‡ but no ship offering at

* He adds, in the same Letter, "Now farewell, my beloved Bethesda; surely the most delightfully situated place in all the southern parts of America.—What a blessed winter have I had! Peace and love, and harmony, and plenty reign here. Mr. W—t hath done much in a little time. All are surprized at it. But he hath worked night and day, and not stirred a mile for many weeks."

† "Thanks be to GOD, all outward things are settled on this side the water. The auditing the accounts, and laying a foundation for a College, hath silenced enemies, and comforted friends. The finishing this affair confirms my call to England, at this time."

‡ "All along from Charleston to this place (Newcastle) the cry is, 'For CHRIST's sake stay and preach to us.' O for a thousand lives to spend for JESUS!"

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at Philadelphia, he ſailed from New-York in the Earl of Halifax packet, and arrived once more in England, July 5, 1765.*

AFTER his arrival he found himſelf ſtill very weak in body, and obliged to go on much more ſlowly than he uſed to do. Yet this did not diſcourage him from doing what he could, in hopes of ſoon entering into his reſt. "O to end this life well! (ſays he) Methinks I have now but one more river to paſs over. And we know of one that can carry us over, without being ankle-deep."

OCTOBER 6, he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's chapel at Bath,† when he preached from 2. Cor. vi. 16.

* "We have had but a twenty eight days paſſage. The tranſition hath been ſo ſudden, that I can ſcarce believe that I am in England. I hope, ere long, to have a more ſudden tranſition into a better country." [When he arrived at London, July 21, he was very ill of a nervous fever.]

† "The Chapel is extremely plain, and yet equally grand. A moſt beautiful original. All was conducted with great ſolemnity. Though a very wet day, the place was very full. I preached in the morning, Mr. Townſend in the evening."

CHAP.

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CHAP. XIX.

From his opening Lady Huntingdon's *Chapel at* Bath, *to his embarking for* America, *in the Year* 1769.

AFTER preaching ſome little time at Bath, he returned to London, from whence, January 18, 1766, he writes to a friend at Sheerneſs, "I am ſorry to acquaint you, that it is not in my power to comply with your requeſt. For want of more aſſiſtance, I am confined in town with the care of two important poſts, when I am only fit to be put into ſome garriſon among the invalids." But he was relieved, for a little ſpace, early in the ſpring; for we find him in the month of March at Bath and Briſtol.

MARCH. 17, he ſays, "The uncertainty of my motions hath made me ſlow in writing; and a deſire to be a while free from London cares, hath made me indifferent about frequent hearing from thence. Laſt Friday evening, and twice yeſterday, I preached at Bath to very thronged and brilliant auditories."

ABOUT this time, the Stamp Act was repealed; on which occaſion he greatly exulted. The intereſt of the Colonies always lay near his heart, and he hoped this ſtep would reſtore peace and happineſs to his country. In his Letter-book is the following ſentence, "March 16, 1766. Stamp-Act repealed, *Gloria Deo.*"

MR. Occum, an Indian preacher, and Mr. Whitaker, came over from America to ſolicit contributions for Mr. Wheelock's Indian-ſchool, an inſtitution which Mr. WHITEFIELD greatly approved. Concerning this he writes, "London, April 25 The proſpect

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prospect of a large and effectual door opening among the heathens, blessed be GOD, is very promising. Mr. Occum is a settled, humble Christian: the good and great, with a multitude of a lower degree, heard him preach last week at Tottenham-Court Chapel, and felt much of the power and presence of our common LORD. Mr. R——n hath preached, and collected one hundred pounds; and I believe seven or eight hundred pounds more are subscribed. The truly noble Lord D——h espouses the cause most heartily, and his Majesty is become a contributor. The King of kings and Lord of lords, will bless them for it."*

JUNE 19, we find him at Collam, near Bristol, from whence he writes, "As my feverish heat continues, and the weather is too wet to travel, I have complied with the advice of my friends, and have commenced a hot-well water drinker twice a-day. However, twice this week, at six in the morning, I have been enabled to call thirsty souls to come and drink of the water of life freely. To-morrow evening, GOD willing, the call is to be repeated, and again on Sunday."

HE was also at Bath and Bristol in the month of November this year. At Bristol he preached to a very crowded auditory (though the weather was exceeding bad) and administered the sacrament; and at Bath he preached to the most numerous assembly of nobility he had ever seen attend there.

IN the month of January, 1767, he wrote a recommendatory preface to a new edition of Bunyan's Works; which is inserted with his Tracts in Vol. IV.

* Mr. Occum and Mr. Whitaker came afterwards to Scotland, and preached at Edinburgh and Glasgow, where they got very considerable contributions; particularly from Mr. Sprewll's family in Glasgow, and from the Rev. Mr. M'Culloch at Cambuslang.

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IV. and March 20, he was called to open Lady Huntingdon's new Chapel at Brighthelmſtone in Suſſex, when he preached on 2. Peter, iii. 18.

AFTER an excurſion to Norwich, in April 1767, he ſays, "I fear my ſpring and ſummer fever is returning. If ſo, my intended plan of operations will be much contracted. But future things belong to Him who orders all things well."

YET the very next month we find him preaching at Rodborough, Glouceſter, and Haverford-Weſt in Wales; from whence he writes, May 31, "Thouſands and thouſands attended by eight in the morning. Life and light ſeemed to fly all around. On Tueſday, GOD willing, I am to preach at Woodſtock; on Friday at Pembroke; here again next Sunday by eight, and then for England." And when he returned to Glouceſter, June 10, "Bleſſed be GOD, (ſays he) I am got on this ſide the Welch mountains. Bleſſed be GOD, I have been on the other ſide. What a ſcene laſt Sunday! What a cry for more of the bread of life; but I was quite worn down."

SEPTEMBER 11. He was at Leeds, having preached at Northampton and Sheffield in the way: and September 20, at Newcaſtle, from whence he writes, "I have now a bleſſed Methodiſt field-ſtreet-preaching plan before me. This afternoon in the Caſtle-Garth, to-morrow for Sunderland, then to Yarm, &c. &c.——I have been enabled to preach in the ſtreet at ſeveral places, and hope to go to Geſborough, Whitby, Scarborough, New-Malton, York, Leeds, Liverpool, Cheſter, Manchester, &c."—Again (from Thirſk, September 28.) "My body feels much fatigued in travelling; comforts in the ſoul over balance."—And (Leeds, October 3.) "Field and ſtreet-preaching hath rather bettered than hurt my bodily health."

THIS winter his negociations about the intended College at Bethesda, came to an iſſue. A memorial, addreſſed

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addreſſed to his Majeſty, was put into the hands of the clerk of the privy council, ſetting forth the great utility of a College in that place to the inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces, and praying that a charter might be granted upon the plan of the College at New-Jerſey. This memorial was by him tranſmitted to the Lord Preſident, and by his lordſhip referred to the conſideration of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to whom alſo a draft of an intended charter was preſented by the Earl of D—h. Upon which an epiſtolary correſpondence enſued betwixt the Archbiſhop and Mr. WHITEFIELD; the ſum of which was, the Archbiſhop put the draft of the Charter into the hands of the Lord Preſident, who promiſed to conſider it; and gave it as his opinion, that, "the head of the College ought to be a member of the church of England. That this was a qualification not to be diſpenſed with. And alſo that the public prayers ſhould not be extempore ones, but the liturgy of the church, or ſome other eſtabliſhed form." Mr. WHITEFIELD anſwered, he could not agree to either of theſe reſtrictions, becauſe the greateſt part of the Orphan-houſe collections and contributions came from diſſenters; and becauſe he had frequently declared the intended College was to be founded upon a broad bottom, and no other. "This, (ſays he,) I judge I was ſufficiently warranted to do, from the known, long eſtabliſhed, mild, and uncoercive genius of the Engliſh government; alſo from your Grace's moderation towards Proteſtant diſſenters; from the unconquerable attachment of the Americans to toleration principles, as well as from the avowed habitual feelings and ſentiments of my own heart. This being the caſe, and as your Grace, by your ſilence, ſeems to be like-minded with the Lord P——t; and as your Grace's and his lordſhip's influence will undoubtedly extend itſelf to others, I would beg leave, after returning all

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due acknowledgments, to inform your Grace that I intend troubling your Grace and his Lordship no more about this so long depending concern. As it hath pleased the great head of the church in some degree to renew my bodily strength, I purpose now to renew my feeble efforts, and turn charity into a more generous, and consequently into a more extensively useful channel. I have no ambition to be looked upon as the founder of a College; but I would fain act the part of an honest man, a disinterested minister of JESUS CHRIST, and a truly catholic, moderate presbyter of the church of England."*

ACCORDINGLY he resolved, in the mean time, to add a public academy to the Orphan-house, like what was done at Philadelphia, before its College-Charter was granted: and to wait for a more favorable opportunity of making fresh application, for a Charter upon a broader bottom.

OCTOBER 28, he preached at the Tabernacle, to the Society for promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor, when the collection amounted to above a hundred pounds, (about four times as much as usual) and eighty persons became new subscribers.†

IN

* See his Works, Vol. III. page 472—484, where the steps he took in this affair are more fully narrated in a Letter to Governor Wright—and Letter MCCCLXXVII. in which he complains to his intimate friend Mr. K—n, "None but God knows what a concern lies upon me now, in respect of Bethesda. As another voyage, perhaps, may be the issue and result of all at last, I would beg you, and my dear Mr. H—y, to let me have my Papers and Letters, that I may revise and dispose of them in a proper manner. This can do no hurt, come life, or come death."

† His text was, Luke xi. 2. *Thy kingdom come.* The place was quite full, and many went away for want of room. A great number of dissenting ministers were present; probably more than ever before met to hear a church-clergyman preach.

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In the beginning of the year 1768, ſix pious ſtudents were expelled from Edmund Hall in Oxford, for uſing extempore prayer, reading and ſinging hymns, and exhorting one another in private religious meetings. Upon this occaſion, Mr. WHITEFIELD wrote his letter to Dr. Durell, Vice-Chancellor of the Univerſity.*

IN the ſummer, he went once more to Edinburgh, where his Orphan houſe-Park congregations were as large, attentive, and affectionate as ever.

AUGUST 3, ſoon after his return to London, Mrs. Whitefield was attacked with an inflammatory fever, and the 9th of Auguſt ſhe died. The 14th of the month he preached her funeral ſermon, from Rom. viii. 20: and September 12, he writes, "I have been in hopes of my own departure. Through hard riding and frequent preaching, I have burſt a vein. The flux is in a great meaſure ſtopped, but reſt and quietneſs are ſtrictly enjoined. We were favored with glorious Goſpel gales this day fortnight, and ſeveral preceding days, at opening good Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, and place of pious education in Wales."‡

SEPT.

preach. He afterwards dined with the miniſters and whole company at Draper's Hall, where he was treated with great reſpect. All was very harmonious, and gave him great pleaſure in reflection.

* See his Works, Vol. IV.

‡ From his Memorandum-Book. "Auguſt 24, 1768. Opened good Lady Huntingdon's Chapel and College, in the pariſh of Talgarth, Brecknockſhire, South-Wales. Preached from Exodus xx. 24. 'In all places where I record my Name, I will come unto thee, and I will bleſs thee,'" "Auguſt 25. Gave an exhortation to the ſtudents in the College-chapel, from Luke i. 15 'He ſhall be great in the ſight of the LORD.'" "Sunday, Auguſt 28. Preached in the Court before the College, (the congregation conſiſting of ſome thouſands) from 1. Cor. iii. 11. 'Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is JESUS CHRIST.'

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SEPTEMBER 26, he writes concerning his friend and fellow-laborer, Mr. Middleton: "He is now made perfectly whole. He was buried from the Tabernacle laſt Wedneſday-evening, and a ſubſcription is opened for his four orphans. In the midſt of his torturing pains, being aſked by his daughter, How he was? He anſwered, 'A heaven upon earth.' Soon afterwards he fell aſleep in JESUS."

FROM his letters dated in November and December, it appears he was in a very poor ſtate of health, yet ſtill continued to preach, as often as he was able.

"BRISTOL, November 12. Laſt night, I hope, the Redeemer manifeſted forth his glory, Friday-evening, and the following Sunday, I ſhall preach at Bath. In three weeks I expect to reach London, except called before that period, to reſide at the New-Jeruſalem. The pleaſing proſpect lies day and night open before me."

NEXT ſpring, 1769, he ſeems to have recovered a little; for we find him preaching more frequently. It gave him great pleaſure to ſee ſome more of the nobility joined to Lady H——n's ſociety. "Some more coronets, I hear, are likely to be laid at the Redeemer's feet. They glitter glorioufly when ſet in, and ſurrounded with a crown of thorns."

IN the month of May he preached at Kingſwood, Briſtol, Bradford, Frome, Chippenham, Rodborough, Caſtlecomb, Durſley. But deferred his weſtern circuit on account of the opening the Chapel, at Tunbridge.

JULY 23, 1769, he opened Lady Huntingdon's New Chapel at Tunbridge-Wells. Preached from Geneſis xxviii. 17. "This is none other but the Houſe of GOD, and this is the Gate of Heaven." In the evening, the congregation being too large to be contained in the Chapel, he preached out of doors, from a mount in the Court before the Chapel; after which

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which he gave a general exhortation: and next day administered the sacrament, and preached from 1. Thes. ii. 11. 12.

Now he seriously began to prepare for another voyage; and in the beginning of September he embarked the seventh and last time for America.*

CHAP. XX.

From his last embarking for AMERICA, *to his Death*, September 30, 1770.

MR. WHITEFIELD was detained near a month in the Downs by contrary winds;† but he improved his time, as usual, in writing many excellent letters, preaching off board; and sometimes came ashore and preached, both at Deal and Ramsgate.

THE following extract of Mr. WHITEFIELD'S Manuscript Journal, relative to this period, cannot be unacceptable.

"SATURDAY, September 2. Had a most awful parting season at Tottenham-Court Chapel Sacrament, last Sunday-morning; the Sermon, from Genesis xxviii. 12. And the same at Tabernacle, (which was more than full) on Wednesday morning at seven o'clock. This day dined at my worthy, fast, and tried friend, Mr. Keen's; and having comfortably settled, and left all my outward concerns in his hands, I took an affectionate leave, and in company with some dear friends, this evening reached Gravesend; where

* In the Friendship, Capt. Ball. "I am comforted on every side. A civil Captain and passengers. All willing to attend on divine worship, and to hear of religious things."

† One ship was lost, but the passengers escaped in the boat.

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where others met us. We supped and conversed together in some degree, I trust, like persons who hoped ere long, to sit down together at the marriage-feast of the supper of the LAMB. Hasten, O LORD, that wished for time!

SUNDAY, September 3. Preached this morning at the Methodist Tabernacle from John xiith. verse 32d. The congregation was not very large. But GOD gave me great freedom of speech, and made it indeed a House of GOD, and Gate of Heaven. In the afternoon, I preached in the market-place, from Genesis iii. verse 13th, to a much larger, but not more devout auditory. In the out-skirts, as might naturally be expected, some were a little noisy, but a great body was very attentive, and I was enabled to lift up my voice like a trumpet. The remainder of the evening was spent as the night before, with my Christian London friends; who with me, less than the least of all, exceedingly rejoiced at the opportunity of a parting street-market-place preaching, where, I trust, some pennyless bankrupt sinners were made willing to buy Gospel wine and milk, without money, and without price. May the great day show that this hope was not altogether ill-grounded!

"MONDAY, September 4. Had my dear Christian friends on board to breakfast with me this morning. Conversation was sweet, but parting bitter. 'What mean you (said the Apostle) to weep and break my heart?' However, through infinite mercy, I was helped to bear up, and after their departure, the Divine Presence made up the loss of all, even with new creature comforts. LORD, if this Divine Presence go not with, and accompany me all the way, for thy infinite mercies' sake, suffer me not to go one step farther.

But I believe thy promise, LORD,
Oh! help my unbelief.

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"TUESDAY, September 5. The Captain not coming down as was expected, we did not weigh anchor till this morning's ebb.

"THE winds being contrary, and the weather hazy, we did not arrive in the Downs till the Friday following. *Interim*, I had the opportunity of converſing a little with the pilot, and ſteerage paſſengers. All attended divine worſhip very orderly, and thanked me for my offer of lending them books, and giving them what aſſiſtance lay in my power towards making their voyage comfortable. All ſeemed thankful, and the pilot parted with tears in his eyes. May the great, and never-failing Pilot, the almighty JESUS, renew us, and take us all into his holy protection, and then all muſt neceſſarily end in our ſafe arrival in the haven of eternal reſt!

"TUESDAY, September 12. Preached laſt Sunday morning to my little flock on board, and was moſt agreeably ſurprized to-day, with a kind unexpected viſit from the Rev. Dr. Gibbons. His diſcourſe was very friendly and devout.

WEDNESDAY, September 13. I went aſhore and attended on an Ordination ſolemnity, at the diſſenting meeting. Several miniſters officiated. Several very important queſtions were aſked, and anſwered before, and a ſolemn charge given after, impoſition of hands. But the prayer put up in the very act of laying on of hands, by Dr. Gibbons, was ſo affecting, and the looks and behavior of thoſe that joined, ſo ſerious and ſolemn, that I hardly know when I was more ſtruck, under any one's miniſtration. The Ordination being over, at the deſire of the miniſters, and other gentlemen, I went and dined with them. Our converſation was edifying. And being informed that many were deſirous to hear me preach, I willingly complied, and I truſt ſome ſeed was ſown the ſame evening at Deal, which, by GOD's heavenly bleſſing,

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bleſſing, will ſpring up to life eternal. The people of Deal ſeemed very civil, and ſome came to me who had not forgotten my preaching to them, and their deceaſed friends and parents, thirty-two years a-go.

"FRIDAY, September 14, 15. I had received moſt preſſing invitations to viſit Ramſgate, many weeks ago. Theſe were now repeated by many of that place, who came to the Ordination at Deal; ſo there was no reſiſting their importunity. We reached Ramſgate about two, took ſome refreſhment, and there I preached about four, not to a very large, but an attentive and affected auditory. This I did alſo the morning following; and was moſt agreeably entertained with the diſcourſe, and good memory of one, in particular, who had been my fellow paſſenger, and frequent hearer many years ago, in the Wilmington, Captain Darling, bound to Piſcataway, in New-England. The people's behavior here was ſo undiſſembledly generous, frank, genteel, and Chriſtian, that I know not where I have been more pleaſed and delighted. Being quite uneaſy, leſt by ſtaying longer I ſhould be unready, if the wind ſhould turn favorable, I went early on Sunday morning to Deal, and from thence immediately on board, and preached in the afternoon. This morning, came a ſurreptitious copy of my Tabernacle Farewel Sermon, taken, as the ſhort-hand writer profeſſes, *verbatim*, as I ſpoke it. But ſurely he is miſtaken. The whole is ſo injudiciouſly paragraphed, and ſo wretchedly unconnected, that I owe no thanks to the miſguided, though it may be well meant zeal of the writer and publiſher, be who they will. But ſuch conduct is an unavoidable tax upon popularity. And all that appear for JESUS CHRIST, and his bleſſed Goſpel, muſt, like their Maſter, expect to ſuffer from the falſe fire of profeſſing friends, as well as ſecret malice of avowed enemies. However, if any one ſentence is bleſſed to the

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the conviction of one ſinner, or the edification of any individual ſaint, I care not what becomes of my character, though I would always pray to be preſerved from bringing upon myſelf, or others, needleſs, unneceſſary contempt.

"MONDAY, September 25. Weighed anchor laſt Tueſday-morning, with a ſmall favorable gale and fine weather. So many ſhips, which had lain in the Downs, moving at the ſame time, and gently gliding by us, together with the proſpect of the adjacent ſhore, made a moſt agreeable ſcene. But it proved only a very tranſient one. For by that time we got to Fairlee, the wind backened, clouds gathered, very violent gales ſucceeded, and for ſeveral days we were ſo toſſed, that after coming over againſt Brighthelmſtone, the Captain rightly judging, turned back, (as did many other ſhips) and anchored over againſt New-Rumſey and Dungeneſs. LORD, in thine own time, thou wilt give the winds a commiſſion to carry us forward toward our deſired port."

AT laſt they got out of the channel, and on the 30th of November, arrived at Charleſton in South Carolina. It had been a dangerous and trying paſſage; yet on his arrival, he found himſelf in better health than at the end of any voyage he had made for ſeveral years; and the ſame day that he came aſhore, he preached at Charleſton, where his reception was as hearty, or heartier than ever.*

HERE

* From his Memorandum Book. "For the laſt week (November 1769) we were beating about our port, within ſight of it, and confined for two days in Five-fathom-hole, juſt over the bar. A dangerous ſituation, as the wind blew hard, and our ſhip, like a young Chriſtian, for want of more ballaſt, would not obey the helm. But through infinite mercy, on November 30, a pilot-boat came and took us ſafe aſhore to Charleſton, after being on board almoſt thirteen weeks.—Friends received me moſt cordially. Praiſe the LORD, O my ſoul; and forget not all his mercies. Oh, to begin to be a Chriſtian, and Miniſter of Jeſus."

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HERE Mr. Wright came to meet him, and acquainted him that all was in great forwardneſs at Bethesda. And when he arrived there, he writes, "January, 1770. Every thing exceeds my moſt ſanguine expectations. And the increaſe of this Colony is almoſt incredible."†

THE great regard which the Colony of Georgia thought themſelves bound to expreſs towards Mr. WHITEFIELD, at this time particularly, appears from the following authentic papers.

"COMMONS Houſe of Aſſembly, Monday, January 29, 1770. Mr. Speaker reported, that he, with the Houſe, having waited on the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, in conſequence of his invitation at the Orphan-houſe Academy; heard him preach a very ſuitable and pious ſermon on the occaſion; and with great pleaſure obſerved the promiſing appearance of improvement, towards the good purpoſes intended, and the decency and propriety of behavior of the ſeveral reſidents there; and were ſenſibly affected, when they ſaw the happy ſucceſs which has attended Mr. WHITEFIELD'S indefatigable zeal for promoting the welfare of the province in general, and the Orphan-houſe in particular. Ordered, That this report be printed in the Gazette.

JOHN SIMPSON, Clerk."

EXTRACT from the Georgia Gazette. "Savannah, January 31, 1770. Laſt Sunday, his Excellency the Governor, Council and Aſſembly, having been invited by the Rev. Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, attended at divine ſervice in the Chapel of the Orphan-houſe Academy, where prayers were read by the Rev. Mr. Ellington, and a very ſuitable ſermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD, from Zechariah iv.

† Two wings were added to the Orphan-houſe, for the accommodation of ſtudents; of which Governor Wright condeſcended to lay the foundation, March 25, 1769. See Vol. III.

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iv. 10. 'For who hath despised the day of small things?' to the general satisfaction of the auditory; in which he took occasion to mention the many discouragements he met with, well known to many there, in carrying on this institution for upwards of thirty years past, and the present promising prospect of its future and more extensive usefulness. After divine service, the company were very politely entertained with a handsome and plentiful dinner; and were greatly pleased to see the useful improvements made in the house, the two additional wings for apartments for students, one hundred and fifty feet each in length, and other lesser buildings, in so much forwardness; and the whole executed with taste, and in a masterly manner; and being sensible of the truly generous and disinterested benefactions derived to the Province through his means, they expressed their gratitude in the most respectful terms."

Soon after this he writes from Charleston, February 10. "Through mercy, I enjoy a greater share of bodily health than I have known for many years. I am now enabled to preach almost every day. Blessed be God, all things are in great forwardness at Bethesda, I have conversed with the governor, concerning an act of Assembly, for the establishment of the intended Orphan-house College.* He most readily consents. I have shown him a draught, which he much approves of; and all will be finished at my return

* See a Paper of College-Rules, at the end of Vol. III. of his Works, which was found written with his own hand, and in which he orders the following authors in divinity to be read: Henry, Doddridge, Guyse, Burkitt, Willison, Prof, Franck, Boston, Jenks, Hervey, Hall, Edwards, Trapp, Pool, Warner, Leighton, Pearson, Owen, Bunyan. And the homilies to be read publicly by rotation. He intended to publish a new edition of the Homilies, the Preface to which (with Prayers on several Occasions) is to be seen in Vol. IV.

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turn from the northward. In the mean while the buildings will be carried on."†

His letters of a later date are in the same strain, full of expressions of gratitude to Providence for the good state of his health, and how exceedingly happy he was at Bethesda. And of his purpose (after he had travelled in the northern parts all summer) to return to his beloved Bethesda, late in the fall. But this event never happened.

From Philadelphia, May 24, he writes, "I have now been here near three weeks. People of all ranks flock as much as ever. Impressions are made on many, and, I trust, they will abide. Notwithstanding, I preach twice on the Lord's day, and three or four times a-week besides, yet I am rather better than I have been for many years."

Again, Philadelphia, June 14. "This leaves me just returned from a one hundred and fifty miles circuit, in which, blessed be God, I have been enabled to preach every day. So many invitations are sent from various quarters, that I know not which way to turn myself."

And, New-York, June 30. "Next week I purpose to go to Albany. From thence, perhaps, to the Oneida Indians. There is to be a very large Indian Congress. Mr. Kirkland accompanies me. He is a truly Christian minister and missionary. Every thing possible should be done to strengthen his hands. Perhaps

† "Since my being in Charleston, I have shewn the draught to some persons of great eminence and influence. They highly approve of it, and willingly consent to be some of the Wardens. Near twenty are to be of Georgia, and about six of this place; one of Philadelphia; one of New-York; one of Boston; three of Edinburgh; two of Glasgow; and six of London. Those of Georgia and South Carolina, are to be qualified; the others, to be only honorary corresponding Wardens."

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haps I may not see Georgia till Christmas." In his memorandum book is the following remark.*

And again, from New-York, July 29, he writes, "During this month I have been above a five hundred miles circuit, and have been enabled to preach and travel through the heat every day. The congregations have been very large, attentive, and affected, particularly at Albany, Schenectady, Great Bamington, Norfolk, Salisbury, Sharon, Smithfield, Poughkeepsie, Fish-Kill, New-Rombart, New-Windsor, and Peckshill. Invitations crowd upon me both from ministers and people, from many quarters. I hope to set out for Boston in two or three days."

When he was at Boston, September 17, he writes to Mr. W——t at Bethesda, "Fain would I contrive to come by Captain Souder from Philadelphia, but people are so importunate for my stay in these parts, that I fear it will be impracticable. Two or three evenings ago, I was taken in the night with a violent flux, attended with reaching and shivering,—but through mercy I am restored, and to-morrow morning hope to begin again. I hope it hath been well with you, and all my family; hoping, ere long, to see you, &c."

And lastly, to his dear friend Mr. R—— K——n, in London. Portsmouth, New-Hampshire, September 23. "By this time I thought to be moving southward; but never was greater importunity used to detain me longer in these northern parts. Poor New-England

* 'July 2, 1770. Sailed from New-York with Mr. Kirkland, and two kind old friends, and arrived at Albany July 6. Was kindly received by Mr. Bays and Domaine Westaloe. Preached the same evening, and went the next day to see the Cohoes Falls, twelve miles from Albany. O thou wonder-working God! Preached twice on the Lord's Day, at Albany, and the next day at Schenectady, and was struck at the delightful situation of the place. Heard afterwards that the word ran, and was glorified both there and at Albany. Grace, Grace!"

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England is much to be pitied: Boston people most of all. How grossly misrepresented!—You will see by the many invitations, what a door is opened for preaching the everlasting Gospel. I was so ill on Friday, that I could not preach, though thousands were waiting to hear. Well! the day of release will shortly come; but it does not seem yet: for by riding sixty miles I am better, and hope to preach here to-morrow. If spared so long, I hope to see Georgia about Christmas.—Still pray and praise.—Hoping to see all dear friends about the time proposed, and earnestly desiring a continued interest in all your prayers, &c."

From the 17th to the 20th of September, he preached daily at Boston; September 20, at Newton: September 21, he set out from Boston, upon a tour to the eastward, pretty much indisposed: preached at Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, September 23: and from that to the 29th, continued preaching every day; thrice at Portsmouth, once at Kittery, and once at Old-York. Saturday-morning, September 29, he set out for Boston; but before he came to Newbury Port, where he had engaged to preach next morning, he was importuned to preach by the way, at Exeter. At this last place he preached in the open air, to accommodate the multitudes that came to hear him, no house being able to contain them. He continued his discourse near two hours, was greatly fatigued, and in the afternoon set out for Newbury-Port, where he arrived that evening; went early to bed, it being Saturday-night, intending to preach the next day. He awaked several times in the night, and complained much of a difficulty of breathing. At six o'clock, on the Lord's Day-morning, he expired in a fit of the asthma.

Mr. Richard Smith, who accompanied Mr. Whitefield from England to America, the last time, and in his journeyings when there, to the time

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of his death, hath given a particular account of his death and interment, which it may not be improper to insert.

"On Saturday, September 29, 1770, Mr. WHITEFIELD rode from Portsmouth to Exeter, (fifteen miles) in the morning, and preached there to a very great multitude, in the fields. It is remarkable, that before he went out to preach that day, (which proved to be his last sermon) Mr. Clarkson, senior, observing him more uneasy than usual, said to him, 'Sir, you are more fit to go to bed than to preach.' Mr. WHITEFIELD answered, 'True, Sir,' but turning aside, he clasped his hands together, and looking up, said, 'LORD JESUS, I am weary in thy work, but not of thy work. If I have not yet finished my course, let me go and speak for thee once more in the fields, seal thy truth, and come home and die.' The text he preached from, was 2. Cor. xiii. 5. He dined at Captain Gillman's. After dinner, Mr. WHITEFIELD and Mr. Parsons rode to Newbury. I did not get there till two hours after them. I found them at supper. I asked Mr. WHITEFIELD how he felt himself after his journey. He said, 'he was tired, therefore he supped early and would go to bed.' He eat a very little supper, talked but little, asked Mr. Parsons to discharge the table, and perform family-duty; and then retired up stairs. He said, 'that he would sit and read till I came to him;' which I did as soon as possible, and found him reading in the Bible with Dr. Watts' Psalms lying open before him. He asked me for some water-gruel, and took about half his usual quantity; and kneeling down by the bed-side, closed the evening with prayer. After a little conversation, he went to rest, and slept till two in the morning, when he awoke me, and asked for a little cider; he drank about a wine-glass full. I asked him how he felt, for he seemed to pant for breath. He told me 'his asthma was coming on him again;

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again; I must have two or three days rest. Two or three days riding, without preaching, would set me up again.' Soon afterwards he asked me to put the window up a little higher (though it was half up all night) for, said he, 'I cannot breathe, but I hope I shall be better by and by; a good pulpit sweat to-day may give me relief; I shall be better after preaching.' I said to him I wished he would not preach so often. He replied, 'I had rather wear out, than rust out.' I then told him, I was afraid he took cold in preaching yesterday. He said, 'he believed he had;' and then sat up in the bed and prayed, that God would be pleased to bless his preaching where he had been, and also bless his preaching that day, that more souls might be brought to CHRIST, and prayed for direction whether he should winter at Boston, or hasten to the southward; prayed for a blessing on his Bethesda College, and his dear family there; for Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and all his connections on the other side the water, and then laid himself down to sleep again. This was nigh three o'clock. At a quarter past four, he waked, and said, 'My asthma, my asthma is coming on, I wish I had not given out word to preach at Haverhill on Monday; I don't think I shall be able; but I shall see what to-day will bring forth. If I am no better to-morrow, I will take a two or three days ride.' He then desired me to warm him a little gruel, and in breaking the fire-wood, I waked Mr. Parsons; who thinking I knocked for him, rose and came in. He went to Mr. WHITEFIELD's bed-side, and asked him how he felt himself. He answered, 'I am almost suffocated, I can scarce breathe: my asthma quite choaks me.' I was then not a little surprized, to hear how quick and with what difficulty he drew his breath. He got out of bed, and went to the open window for air. This was exactly at five o'clock.

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I went to him, and for about the ſpace of five minutes, I ſaw no danger, only that he had a great difficulty in breathing, as I had often ſeen before. Soon afterwards he turned himſelf to me, and ſaid, *I am dying.* I ſaid, I hope not, Sir. He ran to the other window panting for breath, but could get no relief. It was agreed I ſhould go for Dr. Sawyer, and on my coming back, I ſaw death on his face, and he again ſaid, *I am dying.* His eyes were fixed, his under-lip drawing inward every time he drew his breath; he went towards the window, and we offered him ſome warm wine with lavender drops, which he refuſed. I perſuaded him to ſit down in the chair, and have his cloak on; he conſented by a ſign, but could not ſpeak. I then offered him the glaſs of warm wine; he took half of it, but it ſeemed as if it would have ſtopped his breath entirely. In a little time he brought up a conſiderable quantity of phlegm and wind. I then began to have ſome ſmall hopes, Mr. Parſons ſaid, he thought Mr. WHITEFIELD breathed more freely than he did, and would recover. I ſaid, No Sir, he is certainly dying. I was continually employed in taking the phlegm out of his mouth with a handkerchief, and bathing his temples with drops, rubbing his wriſts, &c. to give him relief, if poſſible; but all in vain, his hands and feet were cold as clay. When the Doctor came in, and ſaw him in the chair leaning on my breaſt, he felt his pulſe, and ſaid, 'He is a dead man.' Mr. Parſons ſaid, 'I do not believe it, you muſt do ſomething Doctor.' He ſaid, 'I cannot; he is now near his laſt breath.' And indeed ſo it was, for he fetched but one gaſp, and ſtretched out his feet, and breathed no more. This was exactly at ſix o'clock. We continued rubbing his legs, and hands, and feet, with warm cloths, and bathed him with ſpirits for ſome time, but all in vain. I then put him into a warm bed,

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bed, the Doctor ſtanding by, and often raiſed him upright, continued rubbing him and putting ſpirits to his noſe for an hour, till all hopes were gone. The people came in crowds to ſee him; I begged the Doctor to ſhut the door.

THE Rev. Mr. Parſons, at whoſe houſe my dear Maſter died, ſent for Captain Fetcomb, and Mr. Boadman, and others of his Elders and Deacons, and they took the whole care of the burial upon themſelves, prepared the vault, and ſent and invited the bearers. Many miniſters of all perſuaſions came to the houſe of the Rev. Mr. Parſons, where ſeveral of them gave a very particular account of their firſt awakening under his miniſtry, ſeveral years ago, and alſo of many in their congregations, that to their knowledge, under GOD, owed their converſion wholly to his coming among them, often repeating the bleſſed ſeaſons they had enjoyed under his preaching: and all ſaid, that this laſt viſit was attended with more power than any other, and that all oppoſition fell before him. Then one and other of them would pity and pray for his dear Tabernacle and Chapel congregations, and it was truly affecting to hear them bemoan America and England's loſs. Thus they continued for two hours converſing about his great uſefulneſs, and praying that GOD would ſcatter his gifts and drop his mantle among them. When the corps was placed at the foot of the pulpit, cloſe to the vault, the Rev. Mr. Daniel Rogers made a very affecting prayer, and openly confeſſed, that under GOD, he owed his converſion to the labors of that dear Man of GOD, whoſe precious remains now lay before them. Then he cried out, 'O my father, my father!' then ſtopt and wept, as though his heart would break, and the people weeping all through the place. Then he recovered, and finiſhed his prayer, and ſat down and wept. Then one of the Deacons gave out that hymn, *Why do we*

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mourn departing friends? Some of the people weeping, some singing, and so on alternately. The Rev. Mr. Jewel preached a funeral discourse, and made an affectionate address to his brethren to lay to heart the death of that useful Man of GOD; begging that he and they might be upon their watch-tower, and endeavor to follow his blessed example. The corps was then put into the vault, and all concluded with a short prayer, and dismission of the people, who went weeping through the streets to their respective places of abode."

THE melancholy news of Mr. WHITEFIELD'S death reached London on Monday, November 5, 1770, by the Boston-Gazette, and by three letters from different persons at Boston, to his friend Mr. Keen, who also by the same post received two of his own hand writing, written in health: one seven, the other five days before his death. Mr. Keen had the melancholy event notified the same night at the Tabernacle, and the next night at Tottenham-Court Chapel. His next step was to consider of a proper person to preach the funeral sermon; and recollecting he had often said to Mr. WHITEFIELD, If you die abroad, whom shall we get to preach your funeral sermon? Must it be your old friend the Rev. Mr. John Wesley? And having received constantly for answer, "He is the man," Mr. Keen accordingly waited on the Rev. Mr. Wesley on the Saturday following, and engaged him to preach it on the LORD'S Day, November 18, which he did to a very large, crowded, and mournful auditory; many hundreds going away, who could not possibly get in.

IN both the places of worship the pulpits, &c. were hung with black cloth, and the galleries with fine black baize. The pulpits had escutcheons placed in front, and on each of the houses adjoining, hatchments were put up: the motto on eath was, *Mea vita*

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vita Salus and Gloria Chriſtus. Six months expired before the mourning was taken down, and the eſcutcheons hung up in each veſtry. The hatchments remained twelve months, and when taken down, one was placed in the Tabernacle, and the other in the Chapel, over a neat marble monument Mr. WHITEFIELD had erected for his wife, with room left for a few lines reſpecting himſelf after his deceaſe, as he purpoſed lying in the ſame vault had he died in England. Accordingly the Rev. Mr. Knight of Halifax, in Yorkſhire, drew up the following lines.

In Memory of

THE Rev. Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A. M. Chaplain to the Right Honorable the Counteſs of Huntingdon, whoſe Soul, made meet for Glory, was taken to IMMANUEL's boſom, on the 30th of September, 1770; and whoſe body now lies in the ſilent Grave at Newbury-Port, near Boſton, in New-England, there depoſited in the hope of a joyful Reſurrection to eternal Life and Glory.

HE was a Man eminent in Piety, of a humane, benevolent, and charitable Diſpoſition; his Zeal in the Cauſe of GOD was ſingular, his Labors indefatigable, and his Succeſs in preaching the Goſpel, remarkable and aſtoniſhing. He departed this Life in the 56th Year of his age.

And, like his Maſter, was by ſome deſpis'd;
Like him, by many others, lov'd and priz'd:
But theirs ſhall be the everlaſting Crown,
Not whom the World, but JESUS CHRIST will own.

Mr. WHITEFIELD was not full fifty ſix years of age at the time of his death: thirty-four years of which he ſpent in the miniſtry. And if life is to be meaſured by the greateſt activity and enjoyment; ſuch as being always

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always intent upon some good design, and vigorous in the pursuit of it; filling up every day with actions of importance, worthy of a man and a Christian; seeing much of the world, and having a constant flow of the most lively affections, both of the social and religious kind; Mr. WHITEFIELD, in these thirty-four years may be said to have lived more than most men do, though their lives were prolonged for many ages.

CHAP. XXI.

A Description of his Person; a Review of his Life; and the most striking Parts of his Character pointed out.

HIS person was graceful, and well proportioned: His stature rather above the middle size. His complexion was very fair. His eyes were of a dark blue color, and small, but sprightly. He had a squint with one of them.* His features were in general good and regular. His countenance was manly, and his voice exceeding strong, yet both were softened with an uncommon degree of sweetness. He was always very clean and neat, and often said pleasantly, "that a Minister of the Gospel ought to be without spot." His deportment was decent and easy, without the least stiffness or formality: and his engaging polite manner made his company universally agreeable. In his youth he was very slender, and moved his body with great agility to action, suitable to his discourse; but

* Occasioned either by the ignorance, or the carelessness of the nurse who attended him in the measles, when he was about four years old.

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but about the fortieth year of his age, he began to grow corpulent; which however was ſolely the effect of his diſeaſe, being always, even to a proverb, remarkable for his moderation both in eating and drinking. Several prints have been done of him, which exhibit a very bad likeneſs. The beſt reſemblance of him in his younger years, before he became corpulent, is that mezzotinto ſcraping which repreſents him at full length, with one hand on his breaſt, and holding a ſmall Bible in the other; but the late paintings, the one by Mr. Hone, and the other by Mr. Ruſſell, as they are the beſt pictures that ever were done of him, are certainly the juſteſt likeneſſes of his perſon. An elegant copper-plate of the firſt, by Mr. Picot, is given with this account of his life; and a very fine mezzotinto ſcraping of the laſt is juſt publiſhed, done by Mr. Watſon. Mr. Ruſſell's painting from which the ſcraping is taken, was the laſt picture which Mr. WHITEFIELD ſat for, and was drawn only two years before he died. Both the copper plate and the ſcraping will no doubt be very acceptable to Mr. WHITEFIELD's friends, as the one will be an ornament to the cloſet, and the other to the parlor.

IN reviewing the life of this extraordinary man, the following particulars appear very remarkable.

FIRST, we are ſtruck with his unwearied diligence in the offices of religion, and his conſtientious improvement of every portion of his time. Early in the morning he roſe to his Maſter's work, and all the day long was employed in a continual ſucceſſion of different duties. Take a view of his public conduct; here he is engaged either in preaching the goſpel, in viſiting and giving counſel to the afflicted, in inſtructing the ignorant, or in celebrating the praiſes of GOD. Obſerve his behavior in private company: there

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there you hear him introducing, upon all occasions, and among all sorts of people, discourse that tended to edification. And if you follow him to his retirements, you see him writing devout meditations upon the occurrences of the day, or letters to his Christian acquaintance, full of piety and zeal. What a gloomy idea must a stranger to vital piety entertain of a life spent in this manner? He will think it must have been not only joyless and disgusting, but intolerably burthensome. Far otherwise did it appear in the experience of this servant of CHRIST. He felt the greatest enjoyment when engaged in a constant round of social and religious duties. In these whole weeks passed away like one day. And when he was visited with any distress or affliction, preaching, as he tells us himself, was his catholicon, and prayer his antidote against every trial. The pleasure of a man of business in successfully pushing his trade, or of a philosopher when pursuing his favorite studies, may give us some faint conception of the joys which he felt: yet so ardent were his desires after the heavenly happiness, that he often longed to finish his work, and to go home to his SAVIOR.*

AGAIN, we are justly surprized at his frequent and fervent preaching under all the disadvantages of a sickly constitution, and the many fits of illness with which he was suddenly seized. It must indeed be confessed, that change of air, frequent travelling on horseback, and the many voyages he made, might contribute

* "Blessed be GOD, the prospect of death is pleasant to my soul. I would not live here always. I want to be gone.

"Sometimes it arises from a fear of falling. Sometimes from a prospect of future labours and sufferings. But these are times when my soul hath such foretastes of GOD, that I long more eargerly to be with Him; and the prospect of the happiness which the spirits of just men made perfect now enjoy, often carries me, as it were, into another world."

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contribute to the preservation of his health and vigor: but when we consider what exertion of voice was necessary to reach his large congregations; that he preached generally twice or thrice every day, and often four times on the LORD's day; but above all, what waste of strength and spirits every sermon must have cost him, through the earnestness of his delivery; it is truly astonishing how his constitution could hold out so long.*

BUT there is another circumstance not less remarkable than either of the former, which is, the uncommon desire that all sorts of people expressed to attend his preaching; and that not upon the first or second visit only, but at every succeeding opportunity. Wherever he went, prodigious numbers flocked to hear him. His congregations often consisted of four or five thousand: in populous places they swelled to ten, sometimes fourteen; and upon some occasions the concourse was so great, that they have been computed to be from twenty to thirty thousand.

IT is wonderful to think how he commanded the attention of such multitudes; with what composure they listened, when he began to speak; how they hung upon his lips, and were often dissolved in tears; and this was the case with persons of the most hardy and rugged, as well as those of softer tempers.

HIS eloquence was indeed very great, and of the truest and noblest kind. He was utterly devoid of all appearance of affectation. He seemed to be quite unconscious of the talents he possessed. The importance of his subject, and the regard due to his hearers, engrossed all his concern. He spake like one who did not seek their applause, but was concerned for their best interests, and who, from a principle of unfeigned love, earnestly endeavored to lead them in the right way. And the effect in some measure corresponded

* "I preach till I sweat through and through."

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responded to the design. They did not amuse themselves with commending his discourses; but being moved and persuaded by what he said, entered into his views, felt his passions, and were willing, for that time at least, to comply with all his requests. This was especially remarkable at his charity-sermons,* when the most worldly-minded were made to part with their money in so generous a manner, that when they returned to their former temper, they were ready to think that it had been conjured from them by some inexplicable charm. The charm, however, was nothing else than the power of his irresistible eloquence, in which respect it is not easy to say, whether he was ever excelled either in ancient or modern times.

He had a strong and musical voice, and a wonderful command of it. His pronunciation was not only proper, but manly and graceful. Nor was he ever at a loss for the most natural and strong expressions. Yet these in him were but lower qualities. The grand sources of his eloquence were an exceeding lively imagination, which made people think they saw what he described; an action still more lively if possible, by which, while every accent of his voice spoke to the ear, every feature of his face, every motion of his hands, and gesture spoke to the eye; so that the most dissipated and thoughtless found their attention involuntarily fixed, and the dullest and most ignorant could not but understand. He had likewise a certain elevation of mind, which raised him equally above praise and censure, and added great authority to whatever he said.† But what was perhaps the most important

* Which he preached for a great many others, besides his own orphans in Georgia. See his Life.

† "The Lord only knows how he will be pleased to dispose of me; great afflictions I am sure of having; and a sudden

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portant of all, he had a heart deeply exercised in all the social, as well as the pious and religious affections, and was at the same time most remarkably communicative, by which means he was peculiarly fitted to awaken like feelings in others, and to sympathize with every one that had them.

This last, some have thought was the distinguishing part of his character. It was certainly, however, an eminent part of it. In his Journals and Letters, an impartial reader will find instances thereof almost in every page: such as, lively gratitude to God in the first place, and to all whom God had used as instruments of good to him: sincere love in dealing so plainly with his correspondents about the interest of their souls: frequent and particular intercession for his friends, his enemies and all mankind: great delight in the society of Christian acquaintance; many very sorrowful partings and joyful meetings with his friends: tender-heartedness to the afflicted: the pleasure in procuring and administering seasonable supply to the indigent: and condescension to people of the lowest rank, to instruct and converse with them for their good, in as kind and sociable manner, as if he had been their brother or intimate friend. These are manifest proofs that he had a heart easily susceptible of every humane, tender, and compassionate feeling. And this was certainly a great mean of enabling him so strongly to affect the hearts of others.

Had his natural talents for oratory been employed in secular affairs, and been somewhat more improved by the refinements of art, and the embellishments of erudition, it is possible they would soon have advanced him to distinguished wealth and renown. But his

sudden death, blessed be God, will not be terrible. I know that my Redeemer liveth. I every day long to see Him, that I may be free from the remainder of sin, and enjoy him, without interruption, for ever.

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his sole ambition was to serve a crucified SAVIOR, in the ministry of the gospel. And being early convinced of the great hurt that has been done to Christianity, by a bigoted spirit, he insisted not upon the peculiar* tenets of a party, but upon the universally-interesting doctrines of Holy Scripture, concerning the ruin of mankind by sin, and their recovery by Divine Grace; doctrines, the truth of which, he himself had deeply felt. To make men sensible of the misery of their alienation from GOD; and of the necessity of justification by faith in the Lord JESUS CHRIST, of regeneration by the Holy SPIRIT, and of a life of devotedness to GOD, was the principal aim of all his discourses. "The only Methodism, I desire to know, (says he,)† is a holy method of dying to ourselves, and of living to GOD." By this description, he was far from intending to confine true religion to the exercises of devotion. By "living to God" he meant a constant endeavour after conformity to the Divine Will in all things. For, says he in another§ place, "It is a great mistake to suppose religion consists only in saying our prayers. Every Christian lies under a necessity to have some particular calling whereby he may be a useful member of the society to which he belongs. A man is no further holy than he is relatively holy: and he only will adorn the Gospel of our LORD JESUS CHRIST in all things, who is careful to perform all the civil offices of life, with a single eye to GOD's glory, and from a principle of lively faith in JESUS CHRIST

* "I love all that love our LORD JESUS CHRIST."
"Oh how do I long to see bigotry and party-zeal taken away, and all the LORD's servants more knit together."
"I wish all names among the Saints of GOD, were swallowed up in that one of Christian."

† Preface to the Journals, in the edition of 1756.

§ Journals, May, 1739.

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CHRIST our Savior. This is the morality which we preach." He used also to give this definition of true religion, "that it is a universal morality founded upon the love of GOD, and faith in the LORD JESUS CHRIST." Licentiousness and luxury, and all sorts of time wasting and dissipating amusements, how fashionable so ever, he constantly inveighed against. These were the topics on which he employed his eloquence.

BUT not to dwell any longer on his accomplishments as an orator, and the excellent purposes to which, through the grace of GOD, he devoted them; one thing remains to be mentioned, of an infinitely higher order than any human powers whatever: and that is, the power of GOD, which so remarkably accompanied the labors of his servant, and without which both scripture and experience teach us, that all external means, however excellent, are ineffectual and vain. It is here Mr. WHITEFIELD is most to be envied, were it lawful to envy any man. When we consider the multitudes that were not only awakened, but brought under lasting religious impressions by his ministry; and the multitudes that were wrought upon in the same manner by the ministry of others, excited by his * example, both in Great Britain and America, we are naturally led into the same sentiments with Mr. Wesley in his funeral sermon, "What an honor hath it pleased GOD to put upon his faithful servant! Have we read or heard of any person since the Apostles, who testified the gospel of the grace of GOD, through so widely extended a space, through so large a part of the habitable world? Have we read or heard of any person, who called so many thousands, so many myriads of sinners to repentance. Above all, have we read or heard of any who has been a blessed instrument in his hand of bringing so many sinners from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God?" THIS

* See Hist. Coll. of the Success of the Gospel, Vol. II.

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THIS excellent character joined to talents so extraordinary, and to labors, which GOD was pleased to bless with almost unequalled success, was shaded with some infirmities. And what else could be expected in the present condition of humanity? These have been sufficiently laid open in the preceding Narrative of his Life. And it ought to be observed, that as there was something very amiable in the frankness and unreservedness which prevented his concealing them; so tho' his openess to conviction, his teachableness,† and his readiness to confess and correct his mistakes, they became still fewer and smaller, decreased continually as he advanced in knowledge and experience.

IT would be unjust to his memory not to take notice

† "May GOD reward you for watching over my soul. It is difficult, I believe, to go through the fiery trial of popularity and applause, untainted."

"When I am unwilling to be told of my faults, correspond with me no more. If I know any thing of my heart, I love those most who are most faithful to me in this respect. Henceforward, dear Sir, I beseech you by the mercies of GOD in CHRIST JESUS, spare me not."

"We must be helps to each other on this side eternity.—Nothing gives me more comfort, next to the assurance of the eternal continuance of GOD's love, than the pleasing reflection of having so many Christian friends to watch with my soul. I wish they would smite me friendly, and reprove me oftener than they do."

"I rejoice that you begin to know yourself. If possible, Satan will make us think more highly of ourselves than we ought to think. I can tell this by fatal experience. It is not sudden flashes of joy, but having the humility of CHRIST JESUS, that must denominate us Christians. If we hate reproof, we are so far from being true followers of the LAMB of GOD, that in the opinion of the wisest of men, we are brutish."

"O my dear brother, still continue faithful to my soul; do not hate me in your heart; in any wise reprove me.

"You need make no apology for your plain dealing. I love those best who deal most sincerely with me. Whatever errors I have been, or shall be guilty of, in my ministry, I hope the LORD will shew me, and give me grace to amend."

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tice upon this occaſion of that uniformity of ſentiment which runs through all his ſermons and writings, after he was thoroughly enlightened in the truth. Indeed, when he firſt ſet out in the miniſtry, his youth and inexperience led him into many expreſſions which were contrary to ſound doctrine, and which made many of the ſermons he firſt printed, juſtly exceptionable; but reading, experience, and a deeper knowledge of his own heart, convinced him of his errors, and upon all occaſions he avowed his belief of the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the Standards of the Church of Scotland, as expreſsly founded on the word of God. He loved his friend, but he would not part with a grain of ſacred truth for the brother of his heart. Thus we ſee him conſtrained to write and print againſt the Arminian tenets of Mr. John Weſley, whom he loved in the bowels of CHRIST JESUS. And it appears from ſeveral other tracts in the 4th Vol. of his Works, that he neglected no opportunity of ſtepping forth as a bold champion, in defence of that faith which was once delivered to the ſaints.

EXTRACTS

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EXTRACTS

FROM

Some of the FUNERAL SERMONS *which were Preached on the Occasion of his* DEATH.

MANY Sermons were preached upon occasion of his death, both in America and England. From these, though they contain nothing materially different from the above accounts, yet the reader will probably not be displeased to see the following extracts; as they not only set the character of Mr. WHITEFIELD, in a variety of lights, but are so many testimonies to it, by witnesses of undoubted credit, in different parts of the world.

THE first was preached by Mr. Parsons, the very day on which he died,* from Phil. i. 21. "To me to live

* Early next morning, Mr. Sherburn of Portsmouth, sent Squire Clarkson and Dr. Haven with a message to Mr. Parsons, desiring Mr. WHITEFIELD's remains might be buried in his own new tomb, at his own expence: and in the evening several gentlemen from Boston came to Mr. Parsons, desiring the body might be carried there. But as Mr. WHITEFIELD had repeatedly desired he might be buried before Mr. Parsons' pulpit, if he died at Newbury-Port, Mr. Parsons thought himself obliged to deny both of these requests. The following account of his interment, is subjoined to this sermon, viz. "October 2, 1770. At one o'clock all the bells in town were tolled for half an hour, and all the vessels in the harbor gave their proper signals of mourning. At two the bells tolled a second

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live is Christ, and to die is gain." And this is the character he gives of his departed friend.

"CHRIST became a principle of spiritual life in his soul, while he was an Under-graduate at the University in Oxford. Before his conversion he was a Pharisee of the Pharisees, as strict as ever Paul was, before GOD met him on his way to Damascus, according to his own declaration in his last sermon, which I heard him preach at Exeter, yesterday. He was, by means of reading, a very searching, puritanical writer, convinced of the rottenness of all the duties he had done, and the danger of a self-righteous foundation of hope. When he heard CHRIST speak to him in the Gospel, he cried, "LORD, what wilt thou have me to do?' And it seems as if, at that time, it had been made known to him that he was a chosen vessel, to bear the name of JESUS CHRIST through the British Nation and her Colonies: to stand before Kings and Nobles, and all sorts of people, to preach CHRIST and him crucified. From that time

second time. At three the bells called to attend the funeral. The Rev. Dr. Samuel Haven of Portsmouth, the Rev. Messieurs Daniel Rogers, of Exeter, Jedidiah Jewet, and James Chandler, of Rowley, Moses Parsons, of Newbury, and Edward Bass, of Newbury Port, were pall-bearers. The procession was from the Rev. Mr. Parsons', of Newbury-Port, where Mr. WHITEFIELD died. Mr. Parsons and his family, together with many other respectable persons, followed the corpse in mourning. The procession was only one mile, and then the corpse was carried into the Presbyterian church, and placed on the bier in the broad-alley; when the Rev. Mr. Rogers made a very suitable prayer in the presence of about six thousand persons, within the walls of the church, while many thousands were on the outside, not being able to find admittance. Then, the third hymn of the second book of Dr. Watts' Spiritual Songs was sung by the congregation. After this, the corpse was put into a new tomb, before Mr. Parsons' pulpit, which the gentlemen of the congregation had prepared for that purpose; and before it was sealed, the Rev. Mr. Jewet gave a suitable exhortation, &c." In

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time the dawns of salvation had living power in his heart, and he had an ardent desire to furnish himself for the Gospel ministry. To this end, besides the usual studies at the College, he gave himself to reading the holy Scriptures, to meditation and prayer; and

In Reverendum Virum

GEORGIUM WHITEFIELD,

Laboribus sacris olim abundantem; nunc vero, ut bene speratur, cœlestem et immortalem vitam cum CHRISTO agentem,

EPITAPHIUM.

(Auctore THOMA GIBBONS, S. T. P.)

Electum et divinum vas, WHITEFIELD, fuisti
Ingenio pollens, divitiisque sacris:
His opibus populo longe lateque tributis,
Tandem perfrueris lætitia superum
Inque hanc intrasti, Domino plaudente ministrum,
Expertum in multis, assiduumque bonum:
Ecce mel portus, et clara palatia cœli
Deliciis plenis omnia aperta tibi.
Dum matutinam Stellam, quam dulce rubentem!
Vivificos roresque ossa sepulta manent.

ENGLISHED THUS:

A vessel chosen and divine, replete
With Nature's gifts, and Grace's richer stores,
Thou WHITEFIELD wast: these thro' the world dispens'd,
In long laborious travels, thou at length
Hast reach'd the realms of rest, to which thy LORD
Has welcom'd thee with his immense applause.
All hail, my servant, in thy various trusts
Found vigilant and faithful: See the ports,
See the eternal kingdoms of the skies,
With all their boundless glory, boundless joy,
Open'd for thy reception and thy bliss.
Mean-time, the body in its peaceful cell
Reposing from its toils, awaits the Star,
Whose living lustres lead that promis'd morn,
Whose vivifying dews thy moulder'd corse
Shall visit, and immortal life inspire.

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and particularly, he read Mr. Henry's Annotations on the Bible, upon his knees before GOD.

"SINCE my first acquaintance with him, which is about thirty years ago, I have highly esteemed him, as an excellent Christian, and an eminent Minister of the Gospel. An heart so bent for CHRIST, with such a sprightly, active genius, could not admit of his stated, fixed residence, in one place, as the pastor of a particular congregation; and therefore, he chose to itinerate from place to place, and from one country to another; which indeed was much better suited to his talents, than a fixed abode would have been. I often considered him as an angel flying through the midst of heaven, with the everlasting Gospel, to preach unto them that dwell on the earth; for he preached the uncorrupted word of GOD, and gave solemn warnings against all corruptions of the Gospel of CHRIST.* When he came the first time to Boston, the venerable Dr. Coleman, (with whom I had a small acquaintance) condescended to write to me, 'That the wonderful man was come, and they had had a week of Sabbaths; that his zeal for CHRIST was extraordinary; and yet he recommended himself to his many thousand hearers, by his engagedness for holiness and souls.' I soon had opportunity to observe that wherever he flew, like a flame of fire, his ministry gave a general alarm to all sorts of people, though before, they had, for a long time, been amazingly sunk down into dead formality. It was

* This may be a proper place to mention what the compiler is just now informed of. The late Dr. Grosvenor, who was reputed one of the most eminent divines of his time, upon hearing Mr. WHITEFIELD preach at Charles-square, Hoxton, about the year 1741, expressed himself in these very strong terms, in the presence of a very respectable gentleman now living, "That if the Apostle Paul had preached to this auditory, he would have preached in the same manner."

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was then a time in New-England, that real Chriſtians generally had ſlackened their zeal for CHRIST, and fallen into a remiſs and careleſs frame of ſpirit; and hypocritical profeſſors were ſunk into a deep ſleep of carnal ſecurity. Miniſters, and their congregations, ſeemed to be at eaſe. But his preaching appeared to be from the heart, though too many who ſpake the ſame things, preached as if it were indifferent, whether they were received or rejected. We were convinced that he believed the meſſage he brought us, to be of the laſt importance. Nevertheleſs, as ſoon as there was time for reflection, the enemies of CHRIST began to cavil and hold up ſome of his ſallies, as if they were unpardonable faults. By ſuch means he met with a ſtorm as tempeſtuous as the troubled ſea, that caſts up mire and dirt. Some of every ſtation were too fond of their old way of formality, to part with it, for ſuch a deſpiſed cauſe as living religion. But the Spirit of CHRIST ſet home the meſſage of the LORD upon the conſciences of ſome, and ſhook them off their falſe hopes: but many began to find fault, and ſome to write againſt his evangelizing through the country, while others threatened firebrands, arrows, and death. Yet GOD gave room for his intenſe zeal to operate, and fit objects appeared, wherever he went, to engage him in preaching CHRIST, and him crucified.

IN his repeated viſits to America, when his ſervices had almoſt exhauſted his animal ſpirits, and his friends were ready to cry, Spare thyſelf, his hope of ſerving CHRIST, and winning ſouls to him, animated and engaged him to run almoſt any riſque. Neither did he ever croſs the Atlantic, on an itinerating viſitation, without viſiting his numerous brethren here, to ſee how religion proſpered amongſt them: and we know that his labors have been unwearied among us, and to the applauſe of all his hearers;

and,

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and, through the infinite mercy of GOD, his labors have sometimes been crowned with great success, in the conversion of sinners, and the edification of saints. And though he often returned from the pulpit very feeble, after public preaching, yet his engaging sweetness of conversation, changed the suspicions of many, into passionate love and friendship.

"IN many things his example is worthy of imitation; and, if in any thing he exceeded or came short, his integrity, zeal for GOD, and love to CHRIST and his Gospel, rendered him, in extensive usefulness, more than equal to any of his brethren. In preaching here, and through most parts of America, he has been in labors more abundant, approving himself a minister of GOD, in much patience, in afflictions, in watchings, in fastings; by pureness, by the Holy GHOST, by love unfeigned; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as having nothing, yet possessing all things. And GOD, that comforteth those that are cast down, has often comforted us by his coming: and not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in us, so that we could rejoice the more.

"HIS popularity exceeded all that I ever knew; and, though the asthma was sometimes an obstruction to him, his delivery and entertaining method was so inviting to the last, that it would command the attention of the vast multitudes of his hearers. An apprehension of his concern to serve the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and to do good to the souls of men, drew many thousands after him, who never embraced the doctrines he taught. He had something so peculiar in his manner, expressive of sincerity in all he delivered, that it constrained the most abandoned to think, he believed what he said was not only true, but of the last importance to souls; and by adapted texts adduced, and instances of the grace of GOD, related agreeable

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agreeable thereto, he often surprized his most judicious hearers.

"His labors extended not only to New England, and many other Colonies in British America, but were eminent and more abundant in Great Britain. Many thousands at his Chapel and Tabernacle in London, and in other places, were witnesses that he faithfully endeavored to restore the interesting doctrines of the Reformation, and the purity of the Church to its primitive glory. Some among the learned, some of the mighty and noble have been called, by his ministry, to testify for the Gospel of the grace of God. The force of his reasonings against corrupt principles, and the easy method he had in exposing the danger of them, have astonished the most that heard him, in all places where he preached. How did he lament and withstand the modern, unscriptural notions of religion and salvation, that were palmed upon the churches of every denomination! The affecting change from primitive purity to fatal heresy, together with the sad effects of it in mere formality and open wickedness, would often make him cry, as the Prophet did in another case, 'How is the gold become dim, and the most fine gold changed! How hath the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud, in his anger, and cast down from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel.'

"It is no wonder that this Man of God should meet with enemies, and with great opposition to his ministry; for hell trembled before him. It is no more than may be always expected of the devil, that he should stir up his servants, to load the most eminent ministers of Christ with calumny, and most impudent lies; and represent them as the filth, and offscouring of all things. All this may be, and often has been done, under a pretence of great concern for the honor of Christ, and the preservation of Gospel-order.

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order. When Satan's kingdom totters and begins to fall, he can find men enough to cry, The Church is in danger! and that, he knows, is sufficient with many, to hide his cloven foot, and make him appear as an angel of light.

"THROUGH a variety of such labors and trials, our worthy friend, and extensively useful servant of CHRIST, Mr. WHITEFIELD, passed, both in England and America: but the LORD was his Sun, to guide and animate him, and his shield to defend and help him unto the end: neither did he count his own life dear, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry that he had received of the LORD JESUS, to testify the Gospel of the grace of GOD. The last sermon that he preached, though under the disadvantage of a stage in the open air, was delivered with such clearness, pathos, and eloquence, as to please and surprise the surrounding thousands. And as he had been confirmed by the grace of GOD, many years before, and had been waiting and hoping for his last change, he then declared, that he hoped it was the last time he should ever preach. Doubtless, he then had such clear views of the blessedness of open vision, and the complete fruition of GOD in CHRIST, that he felt the pleasures of heaven in his raptured soul, which made his countenance shine like the unclouded sun."

THE next sermon was preached by Dr. Pemberton of* Boston, October, 11, 1770, upon 1. Pet. i. 4. "To

* The following lines are a part of a poem on Mr. WHITEFIELD, which is published along with this sermon, written by a Negro servant-girl of seventeen years of age; and who has been but nine years from Africa, belonging to Mr. J. Wheatley of Boston.

"He pray'd that grace in every heart might dwell;
He long'd to see America excel;

He

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"To an inheritance—reserved in heaven for you." In which he says:

"I am not fond of funeral panegyrics. But where persons have been distinguishingly honored by heaven, and employed to do uncommon service for God's church upon earth, it would be criminal ingratitude to suffer them to drop into the dust without the most respectful notice. 'The memory of the just is blessed!' Posterity will view Mr. WHITEFIELD, in many respects, as one of the most extraordinary characters of the present age. His zealous, incessant, and successful labors, in Europe and America, are without a parallel.

"DEVOTED early to GOD, he took orders as soon as the constitution of the established Church in England

He charg'd its youth to let the grace divine
Arise, and in their future actions shine,
He offer'd that he did himself receive,
A greater gift not GOD himself can give.
He urg'd the need of Him to every one;
It was no less than GOD's co-equal Son.
Take Him, ye wretched, for your only good;
Take Him, ye starving souls, to be your food.
Ye thirsty, come to this life-giving stream;
Ye preachers, take Him for your joyful theme,
Take Him, my dear Americans, he said,
Be your complaints in his kind bosom laid.
Take him, ye Africans; he longs for you:
Impartial Savior is his title due.
If you will choose to walk in grace's road,
You shall be Sons, and Kings, and Priests, to GOD.
Great Countess! we Americans revere
Thy name, and thus condole thy grief sincere.
New-England, sure doth feel; the Orphan's smart
Reveals the true sensations of his heart.
His lonely Tabernacle sees no more
A WHITEFIELD landing on the British shore.
Then let us view him in yon azure skies,
Let every mind with this loy'd object rise.
Thou tomb, shall safe retain thy sacred trust,
Till life divine re-animates his dust."

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gland allowed. His first appearance in the work of the ministry was attended with surprizing success. The largest churches in London were not able to contain the numbers that perpetually flocked to hear his awakening discourses. The crowds daily increased. He was soon forced into the fields, followed by multitudes, who hung with silent attention upon his lips, and with avidity received the word of life. The SPIRIT of GOD, in uncommon measure, descended upon the hearers. The secure were awakened to a salutary fear of divine wrath; and inquiring minds were directed to JESUS, the only Savior of a revolted world. The vicious were visibly reclaimed, and those who had hitherto rested in a form of godliness, were made acquainted with the power of a divine life. The people of GOD were refreshed with the consolation of the blessed SPIRIT, and rejoiced to see their exalted Master, going on from conquering to conquer; and sinners of all orders and characters, bowing to the sceptre of a crucified SAVIOR.

His zeal could not be confined within the British islands. His ardent desire for the welfare of immortal souls, conveyed him to the distant shores of America. We beheld a new star arise in the hemisphere of these western churches; and its salutary influences were diffused through a great part of the British settlements in these remote regions. We heard with pleasure, from a divine of the Episcopal communion, those great doctrines of the Gospel, which our venerable ancestors brought with them from their native country. With a soul elevated, above a fond attachment to forms and ceremonies, he inculcated that pure and unadulterated religion, for the preservation of which our fathers banished themselves into an uncultivated desert. In his repeated progresses through the Colonies, he was favored with the same success which attended him on the other side of the Atlantic.

He

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He preached from day to day in thronged assemblies; yet his hearers never discovered the least weariness, but always followed him with increasing ardor.—When in the pulpit, every eye was fixed upon his expressive countenance; every ear was charmed with his melodious voice, all sorts of persons were captivated with the propriety and beauty of his address.

But it is not the fine speaker, the accomplished orator, that we are to celebrate from the sacred desk; these engaging qualities, if not sanctified by divine grace, and consecrated to the service of heaven, are as the sounding brass, and the tinkling cymbal. When misimproved, instead of conveying happiness to mankind, they render us more illustriously miserable.

"The gifts of nature, the acquisitions of art, which adorned the character of Mr. Whitefield, were devoted to the honor of God, and the enlargement of the Kingdom of our divine Redeemer.—While he preached the Gospel, the Holy Ghost was sent down to apply it to the consciences of the hearers; the eyes of the blind were opened, to behold the glories of the compassionate Savior; the ears of the deaf were unstopped to attend to the invitations of incarnate love; the dead were animated with a divine principle of life; many in all parts of the land, were turned from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God. These doctrines which we had been instructed in from our infancy by our faithful pastors, seemed to acquire new force, and were attended with uncommon success when delivered by him. His discourses were not trifling speculations, but contained the most interesting truths; they were not an empty play of wit, but solemn addresses to the hearts of men.

"To convince sinners that they were by nature children of wrath; by practice, transgressors of the divine law; and in consequence of this, exposed to the

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the vengeance of offended heaven; to display the transcendent excellency of a SAVIOR, and persuade awakened minds to confide in his merits and righteousness, as the only hope of a guilty world; to impress upon the professors of the Gospel the necessity, not only of an outward reformation, but an internal change, by the powerful influences of the SPIRIT; to lead the faithful to a zealous practice of the various duties of the Christian life, that they may evidence the sincerity of their faith, and adorn the doctrine of GOD their SAVIOR; these were the reigning subjects of his pulpit-discourses.

"IF sinners were converted; if saints were built up in faith, holiness, and comfort, he attained his utmost aim.

HE was no contracted bigot, but embraced Christians of every denomination in the arms of his charity, and acknowledged them to be children of the same Father, servants of the same Master, heirs of the same undefiled inheritance.

"THAT I am not complimenting the dead, but speaking the words of truth and soberness, I am persuaded I have many witnesses in this assembly.

"HE was always received by multitudes with pleasure, when he favored these parts with his labors; but he never had a more obliging reception than in his last visit. Men of the first distinction in the Province, not only attended his ministry, but gave him the highest marks of their respect. With what faithfulness did he declare unto us the whole counsel of GOD? With what solemnity did he reprove us for our increasing degeneracy? With what zeal did he exhort us, to remember from whence we were fallen, and repent and do our first works, lest GOD should come and remove our candlestick out of its place?

"ANIMATED

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"ANIMATED with a God-like design of promoting the temporal and spiritual happiness of mankind, after the example of his Divine Master, he went about doing good. In this he persevered with unremitting ardor and assiduity till death removed him to that rest which remains for the people of GOD. Perhaps no man, since the apostolic age, preached oftener or with greater success*.

"IF we view his private character, he will appear in a most amiable point of light. The polite gentleman; the faithful friend; the engaging companion; above all, the sincere Christian, were visible in the whole of his deportment.

"WITH

* As a specimen of his indefatigable labours in the work of the ministry, I have set down an account of the Sermons he preached after his arrival at Newport, Rhode-Island, to the time of his death. He sailed from New-York, Tuesday, July 31, P. M. arrived at Newport, Friday August 3, A. M. and preached

August, 4. At Newport	*August* 24. At Boston
5. Newport	25. Boston
6. Newport	26. Medford
7. Newport	27. Charlestown
8. Newport	28. Cambridge
9. Providence	29. Boston
10. Providence	30. Boston
11. Providence	31. Roxbury-Plain
12. Providence	*Septm.* 1. Milton
13. Attleborough	2. Roxbury
14. Wrentham	3. Boston
15. Boston	5. Salem
16. Boston	6. Marblehead
17. Boston	7. Salem
18. Boston	8. Cape-Ann
19. Malden	9. Ipswich
20. Boston	10. Newburyport
21. Boston	11. Newburyport
22. Boston	12. Rowley
23. Boston	13. Rowley.

"From

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"WITH large opportunities of accumulating wealth, he never discovered the least tincture of avarice. What he received from the kindness of his friends, he generously employed in offices of piety and charity. His benevolent mind was perpetually forming plans of extensive usefulness.—The Orphan-house, which many years ago he erected in Georgia, and the College he was founding in that Province at the time of his death, will be lasting monuments of his care, that religion and learning might be propagated to future generations.

"I HAVE not, my brethren, drawn an imaginary portrait, but described a character exhibited in real life. I have not mentioned his natural abilities, which were vastly above the common standard.—I consider him principally in the light of a Christian, and a minister of JESUS CHRIST, in which he shone with a superior lustre, as a star of the first magnitude.

"AFTER all I am not representing a perfect man; there are spots in the most shining characters upon earth. But this may be said of Mr. WHITEFIELD with justice, that after the most public appearances for above thirty years, and the most critical

"From the thirteenth of September to the seventeenth, he was detained from public service by a severe indisposition. When recovered he preached

Septm. 17. At Boston	*Septm.* 19. At Boston
18. Boston	20. Newton.

"The twenty-first of September he departed from Boston upon a tour to the eastward, pretty much indisposed. But on the twenty-third he preached

Septm. 23. At Portsmouth, New-Hampshire	*Septm.* 26. At Kittery
24. Portsmouth	27. Old-York
25. Portsmouth	28. Portsmouth
	29. Exeter.

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cal examination of his conduct, no other blemish could be fixed upon him, than what arose from the common frailties of human nature, and the peculiar circumstances which attended his first entrance into public life.

"THE imprudencies of unexperienced youth, he frequently acknowledged from the pulpit with a frankness which will for ever do honor to his memory. He took care to prevent any bad consequences that might flow from his unguarded censures in the early part of his ministry. The longer he lived, the more he evidently increased in purity of doctrine, in humility, meekness, prudence, patience, and the other amiable virtues of the Christian life."

ANOTHER Funeral Sermon on Mr. WHITEFIELD was preached by Mr. Ellington, at Savannah in Georgia, November 11, 1770, upon Heb. xi. 26. "Esteeming the reproach of CHRIST greater riches than the treasures of Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward." In which are the following passages.*

"THE receiving the melancholy news of the much lamented death of a particular friend to this Province, a person who was once minister of this Church, is the reason of this discourse; and my choice of this subject before us is to pay my grateful respect to the memory of this well known, able minister of the New Testament, and faithful servant of the most high GOD, the Rev. GEORGE WHITEFIELD; whose life was justly esteemed, and whose death will be greatly regretted, by the sincerely religious part of

* "Savannah-church was decently hung with mourning, by the legislative body of the Province."

The same public marks of regard were shewn at one of the churches in Philadelphia, of which Mr. Sproutt is pastor, which, by desire of the session and committee, was put into mourning. Also, at their desire and expence, the bells of Christ Church, in that city, were rung muffled.

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of mankind of all denominations, as long as there is one remaining on earth, who knew him, to recollect the fervor of ſpirit, and holy zeal with which he ſpake, when preaching the everlaſting Goſpel; and every other part of his diſintereſted conduct, conſiſtent with the miniſterial character in life and converſation. Mr. WHITEFIELD's Works praiſe him loud enough; I am not able to ſay any thing that can add greater luſtre to them. May every one that miniſters in holy things, and all who partake of their miniſtrations, have equal right to the characteriſtic in the text as he had.

"IT is the ruling opinion of many, that the offence of the croſs is long ſince ceaſed, and that whatever evil treatment ſome of the ſingular turn may meet with, it is only the fruit of their own doings, and the reward of their own work, whereby they raiſe the reſentment of mankind againſt them for uncharitable ſlander, and ſpiritual abuſe. But whoever knoweth any thing of the Goſpel, and hath experienced it to be the power of GOD unto ſalvation, knoweth this is the language of perſons who are unacquainted with the depravity of their nature, and through the degeneracy of their hearts, are unwilling to be diſturbed; therefore are ſaying to the Miniſters of CHRIST, 'Prophecy unto us ſmooth things.' But the Miniſters of the Goſpel are to be ſons of thunder, and ſo to utter their voice, and conduct their lives, as to prove the nature of their work.

"OUR dear and reverend friend was highly honored for many years in being an happy inſtrument to do this ſucceſsfully. With what a holy zeal he proceeded, long before he was publicly ordained to the ſacred office, has been long atteſted; and no perſon has been able to contradict the teſtimony. No ſooner did he appear in the work of the ſanctu-

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ary, but he soon convinced his numerous auditories, that his ALMIGHTY LORD who had given him the commission, had by his grace wrought him for the self-same thing; and through the HOLY SPIRIT, attending his endeavors, made him a workman that needed not to be ashamed. One would think his great success in his public labors, the frequent opportunities he embraced of doing good, by the relief of people in distressing circumstances, every occasion he took to use his influence for the good of mankind, and the whole of his behavior through a life of fifty-six years, being (so far as the frailty of our present state will admit) unblameable and unreproveable, should have exempted him from contempt and reproach. But, quite the contrary, there was so near a resemblance with his blessed Master, that obliged him to bear his reproach. He has suffered with him on earth, and he is now glorified with him in heaven. He has labored abundantly, and he has been as liberally reproached and maligned from every quarter. Clergy and laity have whet their tongues like a sword against him, and bent their bows to shoot their arrows; but the LORD, amongst all, has known and approved his righteous servant. Though it is well known he has had opportunity long since to enjoy episcopal emolument, yet, in his opinion (and it will be found he judged like a wise man in the end) sinners, through his instrumentality, being turned unto the LORD, and becoming his joy, and crown of rejoicing, in the day of our LORD JESUS, was esteemed a greater honor than any this world could afford him. His longing desire for the salvation of immortal souls, would not admit of his being confined within the district of any walls; though it must be acknowledged he never thought of commencing field preacher, till his invidious enemies refused him church pulpits, with indignation of spirit unbecoming the

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the lowest and vulgar class of mankind, much less men professing themselves preachers of godliness.—Though he has, throughout the whole course of his ministry, given sufficient proof of his inviolable attachment to our happy establishment, he was desirous to countenance the image of Christ, wherever he saw it, well knowing, that political institutions in any nation whatever, should not destroy the blessed union, or prevent the communion which ought to subsist throughout the Holy Catholic Church, between real and sincere Christians of all denominations. Some people may retain such a veneration for apostolic phrases as to suppose they ought not to be applied to other persons; sorry am I to observe, that few deserve the application. But of Mr. WHITEFIELD we may say with the strictest truth, in journeyings often, in perils of robbers, in perils of his own countrymen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, he hath approved himself a minister of GOD. All who knew and were acquainted with him, soon discovered in him every mark of good sense and good manners; his company and conversation was so enlivening and entertaining, and at the same time so instructive and edifying, that no person with the least degree of common sense, could behave improperly in his presence. In him met (which do not often meet in one person) the finished and compleat gentleman, and the real and true Christian. Why then did he take pleasure in reproaches, and submit to the taunts and insults both of the vulgar and politer part of mankind? He had respect to the recompence of reward. Though the believer's work will never entitle him to a reward of debt, yet the reward of grace will always excite a holy desire to render something unto the LORD: What wouldst thou have me do? is the incessant enquiry

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quiry of that soul, who by the merits of the REDEEMER's death, and the virtue of his precious blood, is redeemed from sin, and made a partaker of the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. Faith operates by good works: and let all the men of the world say to the contrary, or put ever so base a construction upon our doctrine, it will evidence itself by these good fruits. It was from these principles that Mr. WHITEFIELD acted, and they were productive of the desired effects; not only in alms giving, this was but a small matter, when compared with the happier and more important attempt which he made for the good of mankind, at the hazard of his life, and the expence of an unblemished character. How he has preached with showers of stones, and many other instruments of malice and revenge about his ears, many of his surviving friends can witness; but having the salvation of sinners at heart, and a great desire to rescue them from the power of eternal death; he resolved to spend and be spent for the service of precious and immortal souls; and spared no pains, and refused no labor, so that he might but administer to their real and eternal good: And glory be to our good GOD, he hath persevered and endured to the end of his life, having respect unto the recompence of reward. Surely nothing else could support him under such a weight of care, and enable him amidst it all, for so many years, to bear it with so much cheerfulness. The worthy inhabitants of this Province do not want my attestation, either to the loss the Province has sustained, or to the desire he has had for its prosperity. His indefatigable endeavors to promote it, and the many fervent prayers he has night and day offered for it, speak loud enough. Happy omens we would hope in favor of it, both as to its temporal increase, and spiritual prosperity. May GOD raise up some useful men to supply

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supply his place, and carry on unto perfection what he hath so disinterestedly begun, that the institution he hath founded in this Province, may be of public utility to the latest posterity! As to his death, little more can be said of it, than has been communicated to the public already. He died like a hero in the field of battle; he has been fighting the battles of the LORD of Hosts upwards of thirty years, against the world, sin, and Satan; and he hath been a conqueror, he hath fought successfully; many, very many converted sinners are the trophies of his victory: but now his warfare is accomplished, the Captain of his salvation hath granted him a discharge, he is entered into his everlasting rest, and is reaping the benefits of a life sincerely dedicated to the service of the once crucified, but now exalted JESUS. He preached the day before his decease: though his death was sudden, he was not surprized; the morning of his departure, not many hours before his spirit took its flight to the regions of bliss, he prayed to the GOD of his salvation, and committed his departing soul into his hands, as his faithful CREATOR, and all merciful REDEEMER.—Soon after he said, 'I am near my end;' then fell asleep; he fainted, and died! not one sigh, or groan; the LORD heard his prayer, and granted him his request, and gave him an easy dismission out of time into eternity: sudden death was his desire, and sudden death was to him sudden glory. He has fought the good fight; few, if any, since the Apostles, have been more extensively useful, or labored more abundantly. Thousands, I believe I may with propriety say, in England, Scotland, and America, have great reason to bless GOD for his ministrations; for he hath travelled far and wide, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, through faith in a crucified SAVIOR. Adorable EMMANUEL, make thou up the loss of him to thy Church and people!

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Let a double portion of thy Spirit be poured out upon the remaining Miniſters! Let that holy fire which burnt ſo bright in thy departed ſervant, warm each of their hearts! And, O thou LORD of the harveſt, ſend forth more ſuch true and faithful laborers into thy harveſt!"

A NUMBER of Funeral Sermons were preached for him in England as well as in America. In one by Mr. D. Edwards, November 11, 1770, upon Heb. xi. 4. "By it he being dead, yet ſpeaketh," we have the following character of Mr. WHITEFIELD.

"1. THE ardent love he bore to the LORD JESUS CHRIST was remarkable. This divine principle conſtrained him to an unwearied application to the ſervice of the Goſpel, and tranſported him, at times, in the eyes of ſome, beyond the bounds of ſober reaſon. He was content to be a fool for CHRIST's ſake; to be deſpiſed, ſo CHRIST might be honored; to be nothing, that JESUS might be all in all. He had ſuch a ſenſe of the incomparable excellence of the perſon of CHRIST, of his adorable condeſcenſion in taking our nature upon him, and enduring the curſes of the holy law; his complete ſuitableneſs and ſufficiency; as the wiſdom, righteouſneſs, ſanctification and redemption of his people, that he could never ſay enough of him. He was ſo convinced of the happy tendency and efficacy of this principle in his own mind, that he made uſe of it, and propoſed it to others, in the room of a thouſand arguments, whenever he would inculcate the moſt unreſerved obedience to the whole will of GOD, or ſtir up believers to a holy diligence in adorning the doctrine of GOD our SAVIOR in all things; inſpired by this principle, nothing frightened or flattered him from his duty.

"2. ANOTHER pleaſing ingredient in his character, and a ſure evidence of the former, was love to the ſouls of mankind. He rejoiced in their proſperity

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nity as one that had found great spoil; and with St. Paul was willing to spend and be spent in promoting their happiness. He loved all who loved JESUS CHRIST in sincerity, however they might differ in some circumstantials. He embraced all opportunities to expose the malignant leaven of a party, and to remove prejudices and misapprehensions which good people too often entertain of one another, when under the influence of a sectarian humor.

"3. His attachment to the great doctrines of the Gospel was inflexible; having known their worth, and experienced their power in his own heart, he plainly saw, that though they were unacceptable to the carnal heart, yet they bore the plain impress of the infinite wisdom of GOD. Those important truths, which tend to humble the sinner, to exalt CHRIST, and promote holiness in heart and life, were his darling subjects. He did not disguise Gospel truths by some artful sweetening, to render them more palatable to men of corrupt minds: he studied to preach the word in its purity, plainness, and simplicity. The warmth of his zeal disgusted many who make a mighty outcry about candor and charity, and are willing to extend it to every sentiment, except the truths in which the Apostles gloried. It was his love to the truths of GOD, and the souls of men, that led him to expose those who plead for the rectitude and excellency of human nature; deny the proper Godhead of JESUS CHRIST, justification by faith in his righteousness imputed, or the New-Birth, and the absolute necessity of the operations of the HOLY GHOST. Faith and holiness were ever united together in his system, in opposition to those who pretend to faith without obedience to the law of GOD as the rule of life. He knew errors in the great truths of the Gospel are not indifferent, but dreadful and fatal; he knew it was not candor and charity to say that errors in judg-

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ment are not hurtful, but the greateſt unmerciſulneſs and cruelty; therefore he often reproved ſuch ſharply.

ALTHOUGH he was ſo tenacious of the foundation-truths of the Goſpel, yet none more candid in things that are not eſſential; herein he was full of gentleneſs and forbearance. In things indifferent he became all things to all men.*

"4. To the foregoing particulars in Mr. WHITEFIELD's character, I may add his zeal. His Chriſtian zeal was like the light of the ſun, which did warm, ſhine, and cheriſh, but knew not to deſtroy; full of generous philanthropy and benevolence, his zeal made him exceeding earneſt and importunate in his addreſſes to ſaints and ſinners. His zeal returned bleſſings for curſes, and prayers for ill treatment: it kindled in him a becoming indignation againſt the errors, follies, and ſins of the times; it led him to weep bitterly over thoſe who would not be perſuaded to fly from the wrath to come: it made him bold and intrepid in the cauſe of GOD, and kept him from that flatneſs and deadneſs which is too viſible in ſome good miniſters. In theſe things he was an example to miniſters of every denomination: and, if the limits of my diſcourſe would admit, I could mention many things, as to his great charity to the poor, his humility, &c."

ON Sunday, November 18, 1770, a Sermon was preached on his death at the Chapel in Tottenham-Court-Road, and at the Tabernacle near Moor fields, by the Rev. Mr. John Weſley.† The text was Numb. xxiii.

* As to the difference between eſſentials and non eſſentials in religion, Mr. Edwards refers to the Rev. Mr. Newton's "Review of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſo far as it concerns the progreſs, declenſions, and revivals of Evangelical Doctrine and Practice."

† LONDON CHRONICLE; November 19, 1770. "Yeſterday the Rev. Mr. Weſley preached a Funeral Sermon on Mr. WHITE-

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xxii. 10. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his." And in the sermon, after giving some particulars of his life and death, Mr. Wesley says,

"1. We are next to take some view of his character. A little sketch of this was soon after his death, published in the Boston Gazette; an extract of which is subjoined: "Little can be said of him, but what every friend to vital Christianity, who has sat under his ministry, will attest. In his public labors he has for many years astonished the world with his eloquence and devotion. With what divine pathos did he persuade the impenitent sinner to embrace the practice of piety and virtue: filled with the SPIRIT of grace, he spoke from the heart, and with a fervency of zeal, perhaps unequalled, since the days of the apostles, adorned the truths he delivered with the most graceful charms of rhetoric and oratory. From the pulpit he was unrivalled in the command of an ever-crowded auditory. Nor was he less agreeable and instructive in his private conversation; happy in a remarkable ease of address, willing to communicate, studious to edify: may the rising generation catch a spark of that flame which shone with such distinguished lustre in the spirit and practice of this faithful servant of the most high GOD.'

"2. A MORE particular and equally just character of him, has appeared in one of the English papers.* It might not be disagreeable to you, to add the substance of this likewise: 'The character of this truly pious

WHITEFIELD's death, in the morning at the Chapel; and in the afternoon at the Tabernacle: the inside of each place was lined with black cloth, and an escutcheon hung on the pulpits. The multitudes that went with a design to hear the Sermon exceed all belief. The Chapel and Tabernacle were both filled as soon as they were opened."

* LONDON CHRONICLE, November 8, 1770.

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pious perſon, muſt be deeply impreſſed on the heart of every friend to vital religion. In ſpite of a tender and delicate conſtitution, he continued to the laſt day of his life, preaching with a frequency and fervor that ſeemed to exceed the natural ſtrength of the moſt robuſt. Being called to the exerciſe of his function at an age, when moſt young men are only beginning to qualify themſelves for it, he had not time to make a very conſiderable progreſs in the learned languages: but this defect was amply ſupplied by a lively and fertile genius, by fervent zeal, and by a forcible and moſt perſuaſive delivery. And though in the pulpit he often found it needful, by the terrors of the LORD, to perſuade men, he had nothing gloomy in his nature, being ſingularly chearful, as well as charitable and tender-hearted. He was as ready to relieve the bodily as the ſpiritual neceſſities of thoſe who applied to him. It ought alſo to be obſerved, that he conſtantly enforced upon his audience every moral duty, particularly induſtry in their ſeveral callings, and obedience to their ſuperiors. He endeavored by the moſt extraordinary efforts of preaching in different places, and even in the open fields, to rouſe the lower claſs of people, from the laſt degree of inattention and ignorance, to a ſenſe of religion. For this, and his other labors, the name of GEORGE WHITEFIELD will long be remembered with eſteem and veneration.'

"3. THAT both theſe accounts are juſt and impartial, will readily be allowed; that is, as far as they go: but they go little farther than the outſides of his character: they ſhew you the preacher, but not the man, the Chriſtian, the ſaint of GOD. May I be permitted to add a little on this head, from a perſonal knowledge of near forty years? Indeed, I am thoroughly ſenſible how difficult it is to ſpeak on ſo delicate a ſubject; what prudence is required to avoid

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avoid both extremes, to say neither too little, nor too much? Nay, I know it is impossible to speak at all, to say either less or more, without incurring from some the former, from others the latter censure. Some will seriously think that too little is said; and others, that it is too much: but without attending to this, I will speak just what I know, before him to whom we are all to give an account.

"4. MENTION has already been made of his unparalleled zeal, his indefatigable activity, his tender heartedness to the afflicted, and charitableness toward the poor. But should we not likewise mention his deep gratitude to all whom GOD had used as instruments of good to him? Of whom he did not cease to speak in the most respectful manner, even to his dying day. Should we not mention that he had an heart susceptible of the most generous and the most tender friendship? I have frequently thought, that this, of all others, was the distinguishing part of his character. How few have we known of so kind a temper, of such large and flowing affections. Was it not principally by this, that the hearts of others were so strangely drawn and knit to him? Can any thing but love beget love? This shone in his very countenance, and continually breathed in all his words, whether in public or private. Was it not this, which, quick and penetrating as lightning, flew from heart to heart? Which gave that life to his sermons, his conversations, his letters? Ye are witnesses.

"5. BUT away with the vile misconstruction of men of corrupt minds, who know of no love, but what is earthly and sensual. Be it remembered, at the same time, that he was endued with the most nice and unblemished modesty. His office called him to converse very frequently and largely with women as well as men, and those of every age and condition.

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But his whole behavior toward them, was a practical comment on that advice of St. Paul to Timothy, 'Intreat the elder women as mothers, the younger as sisters, with all purity.'

"6. MEAN-TIME, how suitable to the friendliness of his spirit, was the frankness and openness of his conversation? Although it was as far removed from rudeness on the one hand, as from guile and disguise on the other. Was not this frankness at once a fruit and a proof of his courage and intrepidity? Armed with these, he feared not the faces of men; but used great plainness of speech, to persons of every rank and condition, high and low, rich and poor; endeavoring only by manifestation of the truth, to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of GOD.

"7. NEITHER was he afraid of labor or pain, any more than of what man could do unto him, being equally

'Patient in bearing ill and doing well.'

And this appeared, in the steadiness wherewith he pursued whatever he undertook, for his Master's sake: witness one instance for all, the Orphan-house in Georgia, which he began and perfected, in spite of all discouragements. Indeed, in whatever concerned himself, he was pliant and flexible: in this case he was easy to be intreated, easy to be either convinced or persuaded; but he was immoveable in the things of GOD, or wherever his conscience was concerned. None could persuade any more than affright him to vary in the least point from that integrity, which was inseparable from his whole character, and regulated all his words and actions. Herein he did

'Stand as an iron pillar strong,
And stedfast as a wall of brass.'

"8. IF it be enquired, What was the foundation of this integrity, or of his sincerity, courage, patience, and

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and every other valuable and amiable quality? it is easy to give the answer. It was not the excellence of his natural temper; not the strength of his understanding: it was not the force of education; no, nor the advice of his friends. It was no other than faith in a bleeding LORD; faith of the operation of GOD. It was a lively hope of an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away. It was the love of GOD, shed abroad in his heart by the HOLY GHOST, which was given unto him, filling his soul with tender, disinterested love to every child of man. From this source arose that torrent of eloquence which frequently bore down all before it. From this, that astonishing force of persuasion, which the most hardened sinners could not resist. This it was, which often made his head as waters, and his eyes a fountain of tears. This it was which enabled him to pour out his soul in prayer, in a manner peculiar to himself, with such fulness and ease united together, with such strength and variety both of sentiment and expression.

"9. I MAY close this head with observing, what an honor it pleased GOD to put upon his faithful servant, by allowing him to declare his everlasting Gospel, in so many various countries, to such numbers of people, and with so great an effect, on so many of their precious souls! Have we read or heard of any person since the Apostles, &c." (See the conclusion of this paragraph in page 215, immediately before the quotations from Funeral Sermons.)

* ON the same day (November 18, 1770) the Rev. Mr. Venn preached at the Countess of Huntingdon's

* AN HYMN.

Servant of GOD, well done!
Thy glorious warfare's past:
The battle's fought, the race is won,
And thou art crown'd at last;

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don's Chapel at Bath, on Isaiah viii. 18. "Behold I, and the children whom the LORD hath given me, are for signs and for wonders in Israel; from the LORD of Hosts, which dwelleth in Mount Zion." And of Mr. WHITEFIELD he says: "Though the children of CHRIST are all for signs and for wonders in Israel, yet do they differ as one star differs from another star in glory. Talents, grace, and zeal, eminently dignify some, and draw the eyes of men upon them. In the foremost of this rank, doubtless, is the Rev. Mr. WHITEFIELD to be placed; for his doctrine was the doctrine

Of all thy heart's desire
Triumphantly possest;
Lodg'd by the ministerial quire
In thy REDEEMER's breast.

II

In condescending love
Thy ceaseless prayer he heard,
And bade thee suddenly remove
To thy compleat reward:
Ready to bring the peace,
Thy beauteous feet were shod,
When mercy sign'd thy soul's release,
And caught thee up to GOD.

III.

With saints enthron'd on high
Thou dost thy LORD proclaim,
And still to GOD salvation cry,
Salvation to the LAMB!
O happy, happy soul,
In extasies of praise,
Long as eternal ages roll,
Thou seest thy SAVIOR's face.

IV.

Redeem'd from earth and pain,
Ah! when shall we ascend,
And all in JESUS' presence reign
With our translated friend!
Come, LORD, and quickly come!
And when in Thee compleat,
Receive thy longing servants home,
To triumph at thy feet!

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doctrine of the Reformers, of the Apostles, and of CHRIST: it was the doctrine of free grace, of GOD's everlasting love. Through JESUS he preached the forgiveness of sins, and perseverance in holy living, through his faithfulness and power engaged to his people. And the doctrine which he preached, he eminently adorned by his zeal, and by his works. For if the greatness, extent, success, and disinterestedness of a man's labor can give him distinction amongst the children of CHRIST, we are warranted to affirm, that scarce any one of his ministers, since the Apostles' days, has exceeded; scarce any one has equalled Mr. WHITEFIELD.

"WHAT a sign and wonder was this man of GOD in the greatness of his labors! One cannot but stand amazed, that his mortal frame could, for the space of near thirty years, without interruption, sustain the weight of them. For what is so trying to the human frame, in youth especially, as long-continued, frequent and violent straining of the lungs? Who, that knows their structure, would think it possible, that a person, little above the age of manhood, should speak in the compass of a single week (and that for years) in general, forty hours, and in very many weeks, sixty, and that to thousands; and after this labor, instead of taking any rest, should be offering up prayers, intercessions, with hymns and spiritual songs, as his manner was in every house to which he was invited. The history of the Church of Christ affords but very few instances of men thus incessantly employing their whole strength, and as it were, every breath they drew, in the business of their sacred function. And the truth is, that in point of labor, this extraordinary servant of GOD did as much in a few weeks, as most of those who exert themselves, are able to do in the space of a year. Thus laboring not by fits and starts, but with constancy and perse-

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verance, and ardor unabated, his mortal frame, about nine years since, began to sink under the weight of so much work. If, with the length and frequency of Mr. WHITEFIELD's preaching, we consider the intenseness of voice and spirit with which he spoke, the greatness of his labors will appear perfectly astonishing: he knew not how to speak with less zeal, in his whole manner, than became the subjects of his discourse. The total ruin of the human race by the fall; the complete recovery of believers in CHRIST, his dying love, and the unsearchable riches of his grace, to be known experimentally in this life, though fully to be displayed in the next; and the infatuation of sinners, led captive by their lusts down to the chambers of death: these grand truths, of more weight than words can paint, fired his whole soul; they transported him as much as earthly spirits are transported into vehemence, when they contend personally for their own property; he cried out therefore, as his dear LORD was wont to do, with a voice audible to an amazing distance: hence, in a thousand instances, where the cause of GOD more coolly pleaded, would have been neglected, he gained it a hearing, and carried the day: for the unusual earnestness of the speaker roused the most stupid and lethargic: it compelled them to feel; the matter must be momentous indeed, which the speaker was urging as a man would plead for his own life. Early and often his body suffered for this very violent exertion of his strength: early and often his inside has bled a considerable quantity, and cried out, spare thyself: but, prodigal of life, in the best of causes, he would give himself no rest: expecting very soon to finish his course, and infinitely desirous to save the souls condemned to die; he perished. Though this may be blamed as an excess it was an excess far above the reach of a selfish mind, or an ordinary faith.

"EQUAL

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"EQUAL to the greatneſs and intenſeneſs of his labors, was their extent. The abilities and grace of moſt teachers, have full employ in a ſmall diſtrict, nor have common men talents for more. But when GOD lights up in the breaſt, an apoſtolic zeal for his own glory, an apoſtolic love for the ſouls of men, it ſeems reaſonable to conclude, ſuch an inſtrument is deſigned for the moſt extenſive uſefulneſs.

"ACCORDINGLY the compaſs of Mr. WHITEFIELD'S labors, exceeds any thing that others can pretend to. Not only in the ſouth, the weſt, and north of England, did he lift up his voice, ſaying, 'Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is come:' but in Wales, in Scotland, in Ireland, and America, from Georgia to Boſton, vaſt multitudes in each country were witneſſes of his zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls.

"AND to crown all, he was abundantly ſucceſsful in his vaſt labors, and diſintereſted too. The ſeals of his miniſtry, from firſt to laſt, I am perſuaded, are more than would be credited, could the number be fixed. This is certain, his amazing popularity was only from his uſefulneſs; for he no ſooner opened his mouth as a preacher, than GOD commanded an extraordinary bleſſing upon his word. The people were ſo deeply impreſſed with the ſenſe of divine things from what he delivered, that, to his own great ſurprize, they followed him from church to church, until the largeſt churches in London could no longer contain a fourth part of the crowds, which preſſed to hear the word of GOD from his lips.

"SHOULD any one ſay, few in compariſon, beſides low, ignorant, common people, were his followers; I would anſwer, the ſouls of the poor and ignorant, are to the full as precious as thoſe of the rich and learned: and the mob have ſhown the juſteſt diſcernment, and have received the truth; whilſt men of wealth, and learning, and education, have tram-

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pled it under their feet. Witness the chief Scribes and Pharisees, who rejected both the Baptist and the Savior, when the common people justified GOD, and gave them both the honor of being sent from him. Indeed in every age, we see the Scripture fulfilled, 'Not many rich, not many mighty, not many wise men after the flesh are called; but GOD hath chosen the poor, rich in faith, and heirs of the Kingdom.'

"HOWEVER, when the fierceness of prejudice was worn off, numbers, who at first despised him, taught to do so by gross slanders, were happy under his ministry. And this honor was put upon him even to the last. He had a much larger audience statedly to hear him, than any man in the whole kingdom, perhaps in all Christendom.

"AND that this vast multitude of people were gathered, just as the primitive churches of CHRIST, by the truth they heard, and the spiritual benefit they received under his word, is evident beyond a reasonable doubt. For if you trace his progress through the various cities and countries where he preached the Gospel, you will find, as the case was with St. Paul, so it was with this servant of CHRIST. Many were turned by him from darkness to light, from the power of Satan to GOD, receiving remission of their sins and an inheritance among those that are sanctified through faith in CHRIST. Enquire of the effects of his labors, from the only proper judges, those who live in the religious world, and they will aver, that many within their own knowledge, small as that circle must be, confess they owe their own selves to this faithful witness for his LORD. Add to this, that the letters he received of grateful acknowledgment from persons of all ages and conditions in life, for the spiritual blessings he had conveyed to them, would fill whole volumes. Nay, it is a well known fact, that the conversion of men's souls

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has been the fruit of a single sermon from his lips; so eminently was he made of GOD, a fisher of men. But he was not more successful than he was disinterested in his labors; for though a vast multitude, (which must ever be the case with those whom GOD is pleased remarkably to own) followed him, he had still no ambition to stand as the head of a party. His great object was to exalt CHRIST crucified; and when his hearers were brought to the knowledge of salvation, his point was gained and his soul was satisfied.—Hence neither in his sermons, nor more private exhortations, did he cast disparaging reflections upon other preachers of CHRIST. No base suggestion dropt from his mouth: as if to differ from him must be owing to blindness in the judgment, or coldness of the heart for the interests of holiness. Truly cordial and catholic in his love for all who appeared to love the LORD JESUS in sincerity, he never desired to see his congregation increased by those who had evangelical pastors of their own. Further, in proof of his disinterestedness, consider what he gained by his labors. The scourge of the tongue was let loose upon him, and his name was loaded with the foulest calumnies; he was often in tumults, and more than once in danger of his life, by the rage of the people; he wore himself away in the service of souls; and when he died, he died quite exhausted by much speaking; but in his death, he received an immediate answer to his own prayer, "That if it were consistent with the Divine Will, he might finish that day, his Master's work."

"FOR such a life, and such a death, (though in tears under our great loss) we must yet thank GOD. And though we are allowed to sorrow, because we shall never see or hear him again, we must rejoice that millions have heard him so long, so often, and to such good effect; that out of this mass of people, multitudes

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multitudes are gone before him, we doubt not, to hail his entrance into the world of glory: and that in every period of life, from childhood to hoary age, many of his children in the LORD are ſtill to follow; all to be his crown of rejoicing: the only effectual, everlaſting confutation of his adverſaries; that he ran not in vain, nor labored in vain."

THERE were many other ſermons preached on occaſion of Mr. WHITEFIELD's death; in which the deſcriptions of his character are the ſame in ſubſtance with thoſe already given.*

To

* Such as, by the Rev. Meſſ. Whitaker and Smith of Charleſton; Sprout of Philadelphia; Langford, Elliott, W. M. and probably others, which have not come to the Compiler's knowledge.

The Rev. Mr. De Courcy, alſo wrote ſome Elegiac lines, among which are the following:

Soon as the SPIRIT's unction from above,
Throughout his ſoul diffus'd the SAVIOR's love,
A fire enkindled in his eager breaſt,
With pity burn'd to ſinners loſt—
Straight like a trumpet, he his voice did raiſe,
The wonders of redeeming love to praiſe;
Of health regardleſs, all things did forego,
That ſinners JESUS' boundleſs grace may know;
Where-e'er he preach'd, attentive crowds were ſeen,
Aſtoniſh'd at his youth and zealous mien:
Let Kennington, Blackheath, Moorfields declare,
How oft the goſpel-trumpet ſounded there.
Nor could his zeal the vaſt Atlantic bound—
Throughout the weſtern world he CHRIST diſplays,
And joyful news to Georgia's coaſt conveys.
There Orphans yet unborn, ſhall weeping tell
How mourn'd, the founder of *Betheſda* fell—
The love of JESUS was his darling theme;
And heaven he felt in that dear precious name:
Hence when his heart with ſacred ardor glow'd,
His tongue in prompteſt elocution flow'd.
With what compaſſion, energy, and fire,
Would he the guilty heart for CHRIST require!

Of

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To be the subject of so many funeral sermons, both at home and abroad, is something singular; though quite suitable to his extraordinary manner of life. But it was still more singular, to have a sermon preached upon his personal and ministerial character, in his own life-time, and when he was but twenty-

Oft whilst his Master's glorious grace he show'd,
An arrow dip'd in JESUS' precious blood,
Th' aspiring sinner in the dust brought low,
And forc'd him at the bleeding cross to bow—
Whene'er he meant the power of sin to kill,
And carnal hearts with purest love to fill,
Transgressors he to Calvary's summit led,
Where JESUS, spotless victim, bowed his head.
But, as a glass, the sinners guilt to show,
The Law he brought with all its curse and woe;
The conscience wounded with this flaming sword,
While Sinai seem'd to thunder in his word.
But—whilst each terror of the LORD, and threat,
With zeal and faithfulness he did repeat,
He all dissolv'd in sorrow would appear,
While plenteous flow'd the sympathetic tear;
Like JESUS, who o'er bloody Salem mourn'd,
While wrath divine against it vengeful burn'd—
In prayer, with a peculiar gift endow'd,
Reverent before the throne of grace he bow'd;
In tears, like Jacob, with the Angel strove,
Prevail'd, like ISRAEL, with the GOD of Love.—
For all he pray'd—and all in love receiv'd,
With heart capacious, who in CHRIST believ'd.
In him there dwelt a spirit generous, bold,
Unaw'd by threatenings, unallur'd by gold.
Preferments, honors, ease, he deem'd but loss,
Vile and contemptible for JESUS' Cross.
Inur'd to scandal, injuries, and pain,
To him to live was CHRIST; to die was gain."

[1] In a note upon the last paragraph, the author says, "Whoever is acquainted with Mr. WHITEFIELD's life, well knows that I have not exaggerated matters. For in a visit to Ireland, he was solicited by the Primate of that kingdom, to accept

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twenty six years of age. This sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr Josiah Smith, of Charleston, South-Carolina, and was published at Boston, with a recommendatory preface, by the Rev. Dr. Colman and Mr. Cooper, in the year 1740. Of this it is worth while to make a short extract,* after all that has been said; that by comparing it with the funeral sermons, the reader may see how consistent and uniform Mr. WHITEFIELD's conduct was, from that early period of his ministry, till his death.

AFTER speaking of his doctrine concerning Original Sin—Justification by faith alone—Regeneration—The inward feelings of the Spirit—Mr. Smith adds, "As to the manner of his preaching—With what a flow of words did he speak to us, upon the great concern of our souls! in what a flaming light did he set out eternity before us! How earnestly did he press CHRIST upon us! How close, strong and pungent were his applications to the conscience; mingling light and heat; pointing the arrows of the ALMIGHTY at the hearts of sinners, while he poured in the balm on the wounds of the contrite! How bold and courageous did he look? He was no flatterer. He taught the way of GOD in truth, and regarded not the persons of men. The politest and most modish of our vices, he struck at, the most fashionable entertainments; regardless of every one's presence, but His in whose name he spake.

"As

accept of some considerable church-preferment; but declined the offer, because he looked upon himself as called to an itinerant life; and what makes this circumstance the more remarkable, is, that Mr. WHITEFIELD, at that time, had no prospect whatever, as to temporals."

SEE also, a Pastoral on Mr. WHITEFIELD, said to be written by the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Shirley; an Elegy, containing a short History of his Life, by the Rev. Mr. Knight of Halifax; and another Elegy, and a Monody, by anonymous authors.

* A large Extract both of the Preface and Sermon, is to be found in Prince's Christian History, No. XCIX.

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"As to his personal character, while he preaches up faith alone in our justification before GOD, he is careful to maintain good works. These things the grace of GOD teaches us. And how much of this doctrine has he transcribed into his life! How rich has he been in all good works! What an eminent pattern of piety towards GOD! How holy and unblameable in all conversation and godliness! How seasonable, how much to the use of edifying all his discourses! How naturally does he turn them to religion? How much is he given to devotion himself, and how does he labor to excite it in others!

"HE affects no party in religion, nor sets himself at the head of any. He is not bigoted to the lesser rites and forms of religion, while zealous enough in all its essentials. He professes love to good men of every denomination. His heart seems set upon doing good. He goes about his great Master's work with diligence and application, and with such chearfulness as would make one in love with a life of religion. He is proof against reproach and invective. When he is reviled, he revileth not again; but prays heartily for all his enemies.

"HE renders to all their due. While zealous for the things of GOD, is a friend to Cæsar. And for charity, as it consists in compassion and acts of beneficence, we have few men like minded. Had he been under any criminal influence of a mercenary temper; had he collected monies for himself in his journies, under the pretext of doing it for the poor, as was slanderously reported, he had certainly a fair opportunity to enrich himself. But we have seen; and plain fact cannot be denied: that he casts all into the treasury, and serves the tables of the poor with it. Strolling, and vagabond orphans, without father, and without mother, without purse, and without friend, he seeks out, picks up, and adopts into his family.

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family. He is now building accommodations, and laying the best foundation for their support and maintenance." Thus far Mr. J. Smith, who had the pleasure of seeing this character of his friend verified in the whole of his future life; and who, in his Funeral Sermon upon him at Charleston, October 28, 1770, has this remarkable expression, concerning a visit he made to Mr. WHITEFIELD at his Orphan-house: "It was a scene that made me think I was in heaven."

BY a paper, written with Mr. WHITEFIELD's own hand, of the contents of his imperfect manuscript, frequently quoted in the above account of his life, it appears that if he had lived to finish it, the conclusion would have been, "Reflections upon the whole, containing arguments to prove the divinity of the work; and answers to objections against Field-preaching—Lay preaching—Irregularities—and the blemishes that have attended it."

As he did not live to execute this design, the Reader is referred to what has been published upon the subject, by the Rev. Messieurs Jonathan Edwards, Hobby, Shurtliff, &c. The Rev. Mr. Newton preached a sermon at Olney, November 11, 1770, on John v. 35. "He was a burning and a shining light."—In which he speaks of Mr. WHITEFIELD; an extract of which follows: "Some ministers are burning and shining lights in a peculiar and eminent degree. Such a one, I doubt not, was the servant of GOD whose death we now lament. I have had some opportunities of looking over the History of the Church in past ages, and I am not backward to say, that I have not read or heard of any person, since the Apostles' days, of whom it may more emphatically be said, 'He was a burning and a shining light,' than the late Mr. WHITEFIELD, whether we consider the warmth of his zeal, the greatness of his ministerial talents,

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talents, or the extenfive uſefulneſs with which the LORD honored him. I do not mean to praiſe the man; but the LORD, who furniſhed him, and made him what he was. He was raiſed up to ſhine in a dark place. The ſtate of religion, when he firſt appeared in public, was very low in our eſtabliſhed church. I ſpeak the truth, though to ſome it may be an offenſive truth. The doctrines of Grace, were ſeldom heard from the pulpit, and the life and power of godlineſs were little known. Many of the moſt ſpiritual among the Diſſenters, were mourning under the ſenſe of a great ſpreading declenſion on their ſide: what a change has taken place throughout the land, within a little more than thirty years, that is, ſince the time when the firſt ſet of deſpiſed miniſters came from Oxford; and how much of this change has been owing to GOD's bleſſing on Mr. WHITEFIELD's labors, is well known to many who have lived through this period; and can hardly be denied by thoſe who are leaſt willing to allow it. Firſt, He was a burning light. He had an ardent zeal for GOD, an enflamed deſire for the ſalvation of ſinners. So that no labors could weary him, no difficulties or oppoſition diſcourage him, hardly any limits could confine him; not content with the bounds of a county, or a kingdom, this meſſenger of good tidings preached the everlaſting Goſpel in almoſt every conſiderable place in England, Scotland and Ireland, and throughout the Britiſh empire in America, which is an extent of more than a thouſand miles. Moſt of theſe places he viſited again and again; nor did he confine his attention to places of note, but in the former part of his miniſtry, was ready to preach to few, as well as to many, wherever a door was opened; though in the latter part of his life, his frequent illneſs, and the neceſſity of his more immediate charge, confined him more at home. In ſome of his moſt

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early excursions, the good Providence of God led him here, and many, I trust, were made willing to rejoice in his light, and have reason to bless God, that ever they saw and heard him. Secondly, He was a shining light: his zeal was not like wild-fire, but directed by sound principles, and a sound judgment. In this part of his character, I would observe, 1st. Though he was very young, when he came out, the Lord soon gave him a very clear view of the Gospel. In the sermons he published soon after his first appearance, there is the same evangelical strain observable, as in those which he preached in his advanced years. Time and observation, what he felt, and what he saw, enlarged his experience, and gave his preaching an increasing ripeness and savor, as he grew older in the work; but from first to last he preached the same Gospel, and was determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ, and him crucified. 2dly, His steadiness and perseverance in the truth was the more remarkable, considering the difficulties and snares he was sometimes beset with. But the Lord kept him steady, so that neither the example, nor friendship, nor importunity of those he dearly loved, were capable of moving him.

3dly. The Lord gave him a manner of preaching, which was peculiarly his own. He copied from none, and I never met any one who could imitate him with success. They who attempted, generally made themselves disagreeable. His familiar address, the power of his action, his marvellous talent in fixing the attention even of the most careless, I need not describe to those who have heard him, and to those who have not, the attempt would be vain. Other ministers could, perhaps, preach the gospel as clearly, and in general say the same things, but, I believe, no man living could say them in his way. Here I always thought

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thought him unequalled, and I hardly expect to see his equal while I live.

"4th. But that which finished his character as a shining light, and is now his crown of rejoicing, was the singular success which the Lord was pleased to give him in winning souls; what numbers entered the kingdom of glory before him, and what numbers are now lamenting his loss, who were awakened by his ministry? It seemed as if he never preached in vain. Perhaps there is hardly a place, in all the extensive compass of his labors, where some may not be found who thankfully acknowledge him as their spiritual father. Nor was he an awakening preacher only, wherever he came; if he preached but a single discourse, he usually brought a season of refreshment and revival with him, to those who had already received the truth. Great as his immediate and personal usefulness was, his occasional usefulness (if I may so call it) was perhaps much greater. Many have cause to be thankful for him, who never saw or heard him. I have already observed, that there was something peculiar in his manner of preaching, in which no person of sound judgment would venture to imitate him. But notwithstanding this, he was in other respects, a signal and happy pattern and model for preachers. He introduced a way of close and lively application to the conscience, for which I believe many of the most admired and eminent preachers now living, will not be ashamed, or unwilling to acknowledge themselves his debtors."

There was also a Sermon preached on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Samuel Brewer, of Stepney, London, which his modesty would not permit him to print. And many others of the ministers, both of the Church, and among the Dissenters in England, in their Sermons and Prayers upon the news of Mr. Whitefield's

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WHITEFIELD's death, bewailed the loss of so great a man, and so faithful and successful a servant of CHRIST.*

ON the 6th of February, 1771, the executors having received the probate of Mr. WHITEFIELD's Will, Mr. Keen, who was perfectly acquainted with every particular of his temporal affairs, immediately published it, with the following preamble:

AS we make no doubt the numerous friends of the late Rev. Mr. GEORGE WHITEFIELD will be glad of an opportunity of seeing a genuine copy of his last Will and Testament; his Executors have favored us with a copy of the same, transmitted to them from the Orphan-house in Georgia, and which they have proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. And as it was Mr. WHITEFIELD's constant declaration he never meant to raise either a purse or a party, it is to be remarked, that almost the whole money he died possessed of, came to him within two or three years of his death in the following manner, viz. Mrs. Thomson, of Tower-Hill, bequeathed him 500l. By the death of his Wife, including a Bond of 300l. he got 700l. Mr. Whitmore bequeathed him 100l. and Mr. Winder 100l. and it is highly probable, that had he lived to reach Georgia from his late northern tour, he would have much lessened the above sums, by disposing of them in the same noble and disinterested manner that all the public or private sums he has been entrusted with, have been.

GEORGIA.

* Among these were the Rev. Mr. Romaine, Mr. Madan, Dr. Gibbons, and Dr. Trotter.

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'GEORGIA.

'By his Excellency *James Wright*, Esq. Captain-'General, Governor and Commander in Chief of 'his Majesty's said Province of GEORGIA, Chancel-'lor and Vice-Admiral of the same.

TO all to whom these presents shall come greeting: Know ye, that Thomas Moodie, who hath certified the annexed copy from the original, in the Secretary's Office, is Deputy-Secretary of the said Province, and therefore all due faith and credit is and ought to be, had and given to such his certificate.

IN testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the Great Seal of this his Majesty's said Province to be put and affixed, dated at Savannah the tenth day of December, in the year of our LORD 1770, and in the eleventh year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third.

By his Excellency's command,

J. WRIGHT.

THO. MOODIE, D. Secretary.'

"IN the name of the FATHER, SON and HOLY GHOST, three Persons, but one GOD; I GEORGE WHITEFIELD, Clerk, at present residing at the Orphan house Academy, in the Province of Georgia, in North-America, being through infinite mercy in more than ordinary bodily health, and a perfect, sound and composed mind, knowing the certainty of death, and yet the uncertainty of the time, I shall be called by it to my long-wished-for home, do make this my last Will and Testament, in manner and form following, viz. Imprimis, In sure and certain hope of a resurrection to eternal life, through our LORD JESUS CHRIST, I commit my body to the dust, to be buried in the most

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most plain and decent manner; and knowing in whom I have believed, and being perſuaded that he will keep that which I have committed unto him, in the fulleſt aſſurance of faith I commend my ſoul into the hands of the ever-loving, altogether lovely, never-failing JESUS, on whole complete and everlaſting righteouſneſs I entirely depend, for the juſtification of my perſon and acceptance of my poor, worthleſs, though, I truſt ſincere performances, at that day when he ſhall come in the glory of his FATHER, his own glory and the glory of his holy Angels, to judge both the quick and dead. In reſpect to my outward American concerns, which I have engaged in ſimply and ſolely for his great Name's ſake, I leave that building commonly called the Orphan-houſe, at Betheſda, in the Province of Georgia, together with all the other buildings lately erected thereon, and likewiſe all other buildings, lands, negroes, books, furniture, and every other thing whatſoever which I now ſtand poſſeſſed of in the Province of Georgia aforeſaid, to that elect Lady, that mother in Iſrael, that mirror of true and undefiled religion, the Right Honorable SELINA, Counteſs Dowager of Huntingdon; deſiring, that as ſoon as may be, after my deceaſe, the plan of the intended Orphan-houſe, Betheſda-College, may be proſecuted, or, if not practicable, or eligible, to purſue the preſent plan of the Orphan-houſe Academy, on its old foundation and uſual channel; but if her Ladyſhip ſhould be called to enter into her glorious reſt before my deceaſe, I bequeath all the buildings, lands, negroes, and every thing before-mentioned, which I now ſtand poſſeſſed of, in the Province of Georgia, aforeſaid, to my dear firſt fellow-traveller and faithful, invariable friend, the Honorable JAMES HABERSHAM, Eſq. Preſident of his Majeſty's Honorable Council: and ſhould he ſurvive her Ladyſhip, I earneſtly recommend him as the moſt

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proper perſon to ſucced her Ladyſhip, or to act for her during her Ladyſhip's life-time, in the affairs of the Orphan-houſe Academy. With regard to my outward affairs in England; whereas there is a building commonly called the Tabernacle, ſet apart many years ago for Divine Worſhip, I give and bequeath the ſaid Tabernacle, with the adjacent houſe in which I uſually reſide, when in London, with the ſtable and coach-houſe in the yard adjoining, together with all books, furniture, and every thing elſe whatſoever, that ſhall be found in the houſe and premiſes aforeſaid: and alſo the building commonly called Tottenham-Court Chapel, together with all the other buildings, houſes, ſtable, coach houſe, and every thing elſe whatſoever which I ſtand poſſeſſed of in that part of the town, to my worthy, truſty, tried friends Daniel Weſt, Eſq. in Church-ſtreet, Spitalfields, and Mr. Robert Keen, Woolen-Draper, in the Minories, or the longer ſurvivor of the two. As to the monies, which a kind Providence, eſpecially of late, in a moſt unexpected way, and unthought of means, have vouchſafed to entruſt me with; I give and bequeath the ſum of one hundred pounds ſterling to the Right Honorable Counteſs Dowager of Huntingdon aforeſaid, humbly beſeeching her Ladyſhip's acceptance of ſo ſmall a mite, as a pepper-corn of acknowledgment for the undeſerved, unſought-for honor her Ladyſhip conferred upon me, in appointing me, leſs than the leaſt of all, to be one of her Ladyſhip's Domeſtic Chaplains. Item, I give and bequeath to my dearly beloved friend, the Honorable James Habersham aforeſaid, my late Wife's gold watch, and ten pounds for mourning; to my dear old friend, Gabriel Harris, Eſq. of the city of Glouceſter, who received and boarded me in his houſe, when I was helpleſs and deſtitute, above thirty-five years ago, I give and bequeath the ſum of fifty pounds; to my humble, faithful

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faithful servant and friend, Mr. Ambrose Wright, if in my service and employ, either in England or America, or elsewhere, at the time of my decease, I give and bequeath the sum of five hundred pounds; to my brother, Mr. Richard Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; to my brother, Mr. Thomas Whitefield, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, to be given him at the discretion of Mr. Robert Keen; to my brother-in-law, Mr. James Smith, Hosier, in the city of Bristol, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and thirty pounds also for family mourning; to my niece, Mrs. Frances Hartford, of Bath, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and twenty pounds for family mourning; to Mr. J. Crane, now a faithful steward at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of forty pounds; to Mr. Benjamin Stirk, as an acknowledgment of his past services at Bethesda, I give and bequeath the sum of ten pounds for mourning; to Peter Edwards, now at the Orphan-house Academy, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; to William Trigg, at the same place, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; both the sums aforesaid to be laid out, or laid up for them, at the discretion of Mr. Ambrose Wright: to Mr. Thomas Adams, of Rodborough, in Gloucestershire, my only surviving first fellow-laborer, and beloved much in the LORD, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds; to the Rev. Mr. Howel Davis, of Pembrokeshire, in South Wales, that good soldier of JESUS CHRIST; to Mr. Torial Joss, Mr. Cornelius Winter, and all my other dearly beloved present stated assistant-preachers at Tabernacle and Tottenham-Court Chapel, I give and bequeath ten pounds each for mourning; to the three brothers of Mr. Ambrose Wright, and the wife of his brother Mr. Robert Wright, now faithfully and skilfully laboring and serving at the Orphan-house Academy, I

give

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give and bequeath the sum of ten pounds each for mourning; to Mr. Richard Smith, now a diligent attendant on me, I give and bequeath the sum of fifty pounds, and all my wearing apparel which I shall have with me in my journey through America, or on my voyage to England, if it should please an all-wise God to shorten my days in either of those situations. Finally, I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds, to be distributed at the discretion of my executors, herein after mentioned, for mourning among my old London servants, the poor widows at Tottenham Court Chapel, and the Tabernacle poor, especially my old trusty, disinterested friend and servant, Mrs. Elizabeth Wood. All the other residue, if there be any residue, of monies, goods, and chattels, or whatever profits may arise from the sale of my books, or any manuscripts that I may leave behind, I give and bequeath to the Right Honourable the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, or, in case of her Ladyship's being deceased at the time of my departure, to the Honorable James Habersham, Esq. before mentioned, after my funeral expences and just debts are discharged, towards paying off my arrears that may be due on the account of the Orphan-house Academy, or for annual prizes, as a reward for the best three orations that shall be made in English on the subjects mentioned in a paper annexed to this my Will. And I do hereby appoint the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. aforesaid, to be my executor, in respect to my affairs in the Province of Georgia, and my trusty, tried, dearly beloved friends, Charles Hardy, Esq. Daniel West, Esq. and Mr. Robert Keen, to be executors of this my last Will and Testament, in respect of my affairs in England, begging each to accept of a mourning ring. To all my other Christian benefactors, and more intimate acquaintance, I leave my most hearty thanks and blessing, assuring

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suring them that I am more and more convinced of the undoubted reality, and infinite importance of the grand gospel-truths which I have from time to time delivered; and am so far from repenting my delivering them in an itinerant way, that had I strength equal to my inclination, I would preach them from pole to pole, not only because I have found them to be the power of GOD to the salvation of my own soul, but because I am as much assured that the Great Head of the Church hath called me by his word, providence and SPIRIT, to act in this way, as that the sun shines at noon-day. As for my enemies, and misjudging, mistaken friends, I most freely and heartily forgive them, and can only add, that the last tremendous day will soon discover what I have been, what I am, and what I shall be, when time itself shall be no more; and therefore, from my inmost soul, I close all, by crying, Come, LORD JESUS, come quickly; even so, LORD JESUS, Amen and Amen.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

* This was written with the Testator's own hand, and at his desire, and in his presence, sealed, signed, and delivered, at the Orphan house Academy, in the Province of Georgia, before these witnesses, *Anno Domini*, March the twenty second, one thousand, seven hundred and seventy.

Signed, ROBERT BOLTON.
THOMAS DIXON.
CORNELIUS WINTER.

" N. B. I also leave a mourning ring to my honored and dear friends and disinterested fellow-labourers, the Rev. Messrs. John and Charles Wesley, in token of my indissoluble union with them, in heart and Christian affection, notwithstanding our difference in judgment about some particular points of doctrine.—

Grace

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Grace be with all them, of whatever denomination, that love our LORD JESUS, our common LORD, in sincerity."

Georgia, Secretary's Office.

"A true copy, taken from the original in this office, examined and certified: and I do further certify that the same was duly proved; and the Honourable James Habersham, Esq. one of the executors therein named, was duly qualified as executor before his Excellency James Wright, Esq. Governor and Ordinary of the said Province, this 10th day of December 1770.

THO. MOODIE, D. Sec."

Concerning the manner in which Mr. WHITEFIELD'S Tabernacle and Chapel are at present supplied, the compiler has received the following information:

HAVING by his Will left both of his places of worship, his houses, library, and all things appertaining thereto, to two of his executors in survivorship, they have been enabled, through the abundant goodness of GOD, to carry on the work in the same manner as in Mr. WHITEFIELD'S life-time, without the least diminution either of the largeness of the congregations, or the visible power of GOD attending the ministry there. And as neither of them are ministers, but engaged in extensive business, it appears the more wonderful, and shews the work to be begun and carried on by the power of GOD alone; and it is their earnest prayer and study, that it may be transmitted down, and faithful ministers and upright persons raised to carry it on when their heads are laid in the dust. Two of his fellow-labourers were taken off by death, whilst he was last abroad, *viz.* the Rev. Mr. Howel Davies, a clergyman, and Mr. Thomas Adams, a layman; and a little before, Mr. Middleton, all tried and faithful ministers: but

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the LORD hath wonderfully raiſed up others in their ſtead. The preſent miniſters are chiefly theſe, the Rev. Mr. Kinſman of Plymouth, the Rev. Mr. Edwards of Leeds, the Rev. Mr. Knight of Halifax, and the Rev. Mr. Aſhburner, of Pool in Dorſetſhire: theſe viſit London once, and if wrote for, twice a year. The conſtant ones upon the ſpot are, Mr. Joſs and Mr. Brookſbanks. The Rev. Mr. De Courcy, and the Rev. Mr. Piercy, and other Clergymen, have often aſſiſted. Beſides theſe, the proprietors have been favoured with the occaſional labours of Mr. Rowland Hill, and Mr. Heath of Plymouth: alſo of many worthy Clergymen and diſſenting miniſters from the country, who eſteemed it their privilege to preach to very large, ſerious, and attentive congregations, whoſe hearts have been filled with thankfulneſs, and at the ſame time engaged in prayer for every ſuch miniſter; and an unuſual bleſſing has commonly attended both ſowers and reapers; and it is the earneſt deſire of the proprietors that the pleaſure of the LORD may thus proſper in their hands. They propoſe, thro' the bleſſing of GOD, to let the pulpits be open to every diſintereſted miniſter who may occaſionally come to town, of good moral character, ſound in the faith, of moderate Calviniſtical Principles, without diſtinction of parties or denominations, whoſe talents are ſuitable to preach with life and power to large congregations. And hope for the concurrence of all well-wiſhers to the proſperity of Zion.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

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AN

ENQUIRY

INTO

The first and chief Reason, why the generality of Christians fall so far short of the holiness and devotion of Christianity.

(Extracted from Mr. WHITEFIELD's Tracts.)

SINCE Christian devotion is nothing less than a life wholly devoted unto GOD, and persons who are free from the necessities of labour and employments, are to consider themselves as devoted to GOD in a higher degree; it may now reasonably be enquired, how it comes to pass, that the lives even of the moral and better sort of people, are in general so directly contrary to the principles of Christianity? I answer, because the generality of those who call themselves Christians, are destitute of a true living faith in JESUS CHRIST; for want of which, they never effectually intended to please GOD in all the actions of life, as the happiest and best thing in the world.

To be partaker of such a faith, is every-where represented in scripture, as a fundamental and necessary part of true piety. For without a living faith in the righteousness of JESUS CHRIST, our persons cannot be justified, and consequently none of our performances acceptable in the sight of GOD. It is this faith that enables us to overcome the world, and to devote ourselves without reserve to promote the glory of Him, who has loved and given himself for us. And therefore it is purely for want of such a faith, that you see such a mixture of sin and folly even in the lives of the better sort of people: It is for want of this faith, that you see Clergymen given to pride, and covetousness, and worldly enjoyments: It is for want of such a faith, that you see Women, who profess devotion, yet living in all the folly and vanity of dress, wasting their time in idleness and pleasures, and in all such instances of state and equipage as their estate will reach. Let but a Woman feel her heart full of this faith, and she will no more desire to shine at balls and assemblies, or to make a figure among those that are most finely dressed, than she will desire to dance upon a rope to please spectators: For she will then

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know, that the one is as far from the true nature, wiſdom, and excellency of the Chriſtian ſpirit, as is the other.

Let a Clergyman be but thus pious, and he will converſe as if he had been brought up by an Apoſtle; he will no more think and talk of noble preferment, than of noble eating, or a glorious chariot. He will no more complain of the frowns of the world, or a ſmall cure, or the want of a patron, than he will complain of the want of a laced coat, or of a running horſe. Let him but have ſuch a faith in love for GOD, as will conſtrain him to make it his buſineſs to ſtudy to pleaſe GOD in all his actions, as the happieſt and beſt thing in the world, and then he will know, that there is nothing noble in a Clergyman, but burning zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls; nor any thing poor in his profeſſion but idleneſs and a worldly ſpirit.

Further, let a Tradeſman but have ſuch a faith, and it will make him a ſaint in his ſhop; his every-day buſineſs will be a courſe of wiſe and reaſonable actions, made holy to GOD, by flowing from faith, proceeding from love, and by being done in obedience to his will and pleaſure. He will therefore not chiefly conſider, what arts, or methods, or application will ſooneſt make him greater and richer than his brethren, that he may remove from a ſhop, to a life of ſtate and pleaſure; but he will chiefly conſider, what arts, what methods, and what application can make worldly buſineſs moſt conducive to GOD's glory, and his neighbour's good; and conſequently make a life of trade, to be a life of holineſs, devotion, and undiſſembled piety.

It was this faith that made the primitive Chriſtians ſuch eminent inſtances of religion; and that made the goodly fellowſhip of the ſaints in all ages, and all the glorious army of confeſſors and martyrs. And if we will ſtop and aſk ourſelves, why we are not as pious as the primitive Chriſtians, and ſaints of old were? our own hearts muſt tell us, that it is becauſe we never yet perhaps earneſtly ſought after, and conſequently were never really made partakers of, that precious faith, whereby they were conſtrained to intend to pleaſe GOD in all their actions, as the beſt and happieſt thing in the world.

Here then let us judge ourſelves ſincerely; let us not vainly content ourſelves with the common diſorders of our lives, the vanity of our expences, the folly of our diverſions, the pride of our habits, the idleneſs of our lives, and the waſting of our time; fancying that theſe are only ſuch imperfections as we neceſſarily fall into, through the unavoidable weakneſs and frailty of our nature; but let us be aſſured, that theſe habitual

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habitual disorders of our common life, are so many demonstrable proofs, that we never yet truly accepted of the Lord Jesus and his righteousness by a living faith, and never really intended, as a proof and evidence of such a faith, to please God in all the actions of our life, as the best thing in the world.

Though this be a matter we can easily pass over at present, whilst the health of our bodies, the passions of our minds, the noise, and hurry, and pleasures, and business of the world, lead us on with "eyes that see not, and ears that hear not:" yet at death, it will set itself before us in a dreadful magnitude; it will haunt us like a dismal ghost, and our consciences will never let us take our eyes from it, unless they are seared as with a red hot iron, and God shall have given us over to a reprobate mind.

PENITENS was a busy notable tradesman, and very prosperous in his dealings; but died in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

A little before his death, when the doctors had given him over, some of his neighbours came one evening to see him; at which time he spake thus to them.

"I see (says he) my friends, the tender concern you have for me, by the grief that appears in your countenances, and I know the thoughts that you now have of me. You think how melancholy a case it is, to see so young a man, and in such flourishing business, delivered up to death. And perhaps, had I visited any of you in my condition, I should have had the same thoughts of you. But now, my friends, my thoughts are no more like your thoughts, than my condition is like yours. It is no trouble to me now to think that I am to die young, or before I have raised an estate. These things are sunk into such mere nothings, that I have no name little enough to call them by. For if in a few days, or hours, I am to leave this carcase to be buried in the earth, and to find myself either for ever happy in the favour of God, or eternally separated from all light and peace; can any words sufficiently express the littleness of every thing else?

Is there any dream, like the dream of life, which amuses us with the neglect and disregard of these things? Is there any folly like the folly of our manly state, which is too wise and busy to be at leisure for these reflections?

When we consider death as a misery, we generally think of it as a miserable separation from the enjoyments of this life. We seldom mourn over an old man that dies rich, but we lament the young, that are taken away in the progress of their fortunes.

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fortunes. You yourselves look upon me with pity, not that you think I am going unprepared to meet the Judge of quick and dead, but that I am to leave a prosperous trade in the flower of my life.

This is the wisdom of our manly thoughts. And yet what folly of the silliest children, is so great as this? For what is there miserable or dreadful in death, but the consequences of it? When a man is dead, what does any thing signify to him, but the state he is then in?

Our poor friend Lepidus, you know died as he was dressing himself for a feast; do you think it is now part of his trouble, that he did not live till that entertainment was over? Feasts, and business, and pleasures, and enjoyments, seem great things to us, whilst we think of nothing else; but as soon as we add death to them, they all sink into littleness not to be expressed; and the soul that is separated from the body, no more laments the loss of business, than the losing of a feast.

If I am now going to the joys of God, could there be any reason to grieve, that this happened to me before I was forty years of age. Can it be a sad thing to go to heaven, before I have made a few more bargains, or stood a little longer behind a counter;

And if I am to go amongst lost spirits, could there be any reason to be content, that this did not happen to me till I was old and full of riches.

If good angels were ready to receive my soul, could it be any grief to me that I was dying on a poor bed in a garret?

And if God has delivered me up to evil spirits, to be dragged by them to places of torment, could it be any comfort to me, that they found me upon a bed of state? When you are as near death as I am, you will know, that all the different states of life, whether of youth or age, riches or poverty, greatness or meanness, signify no more to you, than whether you die in a poor or stately apartment.

The greatness of the things which follow death, makes all that goes before it sink into nothing.

Now, that judgment is the next thing which I look for, and everlasting happiness or misery is come so near to me, all the enjoyments and prosperities of life seem as vain and insignificant, and to have no more to do with my happiness, than the clothes that I wore when I was a little child.

What a strange thing! that a little health, or the poor business of a shop, should keep us so senseless of these great things that are coming so fast upon us!

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Just

Just as you came into my chamber, I was thinking with myself, what numbers of souls there are in the world, in my condition at this very time, surprized with a summons to the other world, some taken from their shops and farms, others from their sports and pleasures; these at suits at law, those at gaming-tables; some on the road, others at their own firesides; and all seized at an hour when they thought nothing of it; frighted at the approach of death; confounded at the vanity of all their labours, designs and projects; astonished at the folly of their past lives, and not knowing which way to turn their thoughts, to find any comfort. Their consciences flying in their faces, bringing all their sins to remembrance, tormenting them with the deepest convictions of their own folly, presenting them with the sight of the angry Judge, and the worm that never dies, the fire that is never quenched, the gates of hell, the powers of darkness, and the bitter pains of eternal death.

O my friends! bless God that you are not of this number; and take this along with you, that there is nothing but a real faith in the LORD JESUS, and a life of true piety, or a death of great stupidity, that can keep off these apprehensions.

Had I now a thousand worlds, I would give them all for one moment's scriptural assurance that I had really received the LORD JESUS by a living faith into my heart, and for one more year's continuance in life, that I might evidence the sincerity of that faith, by presenting unto GOD, one year of such devotion and good works, as I am perfuaded I have hitherto never done.

Perhaps, when you consider that I have lived free from scandal and debauchery, and in the communion of the church, you wonder to see me so full of remorse and self-condemnation at the approach of death.

But alas! what a poor thing is it, to have lived only free from murder, theft and adultery, which is all that I can say of myself. Was not the slothful servant, that is condemned in the gospel, thus negatively good? And did not the SAVIOUR of mankind tell the young man, who led a more blameless and moral life than I have done, that yet one thing he lacked.

But the thing that now surprizes me above all wonders, is this, that till of late I never was convinced of that reigning, soul-destroying sin of unbelief; and that I was out of a state of salvation, notwithstanding my negative goodness, my seemingly strict morality, and attendance on public worship and the holy sacraments. But as I entered into my home or heart, that

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that the righteousness of JESUS CHRIST alone, could recommend me to the favour of a sin-avenging GOD, and that I must be born again of GOD, and have CHRIST formed in my heart, before I could have any well guarded assurance that I was a Christian indeed, or have any solid foundation whereon I might build the superstructure of a truly holy and pious life.

ALAS! I thought I had faith in CHRIST, because I was born in a Christian country, and said in my creed, that "I believed on JESUS CHRIST his only Son our LORD." I thought I was certainly regenerate and born again, and was a real Christian, because I was baptized when I was young, and received the holy sacrament in my adult age. But alas! little did I consider that faith is something more than the world generally thinks of; a work of the heart, and not merely of the head, and that I must know and feel that there is no other name given under heaven whereby I can be saved, but that of JESUS CHRIST.

IT is true indeed, you have frequently seen me at church and the sacrament; but alas! you little think what remorse of conscience I now feel for so frequently saying, "the remembrance of our sins is grievous unto us, and the burden of them is intolerable," when I never experienced the meaning of them in all my life. You have also seen me join with the minister when he said, "we do not approach thy table trusting on our own righteousness; but all this while I was utterly ignorant of GOD's righteousness, which is by faith in CHRIST JESUS, and was going about to establish a righteousness of my own. It is true indeed, I have kept the fasts, and feasts of the church, and have called CHRIST, Lord, Lord; but little did I think, that no one could call CHRIST truly Lord, but by the HOLY GHOST. I have attended upon ordinations, and heard the Bishop ask the candidates, "whether they were called by the HOLY GHOST; I have seriously attended to the minister, when he exhorted us to pray for true repentance and GOD's HOLY SPIRIT; but alas, I never enquired whether I myself had received the HOLY GHOST, to sanctify and purify my heart, and work a true evangelical repentance on my soul. I have prayed in the litany that I might bring forth fruits of the SPIRIT, but alas, my whole life has been nothing but a dead life, a round of duties, and model of performances, without any living faith for their foundation. I have professed myself a member of the church of England; I have cried out, "The temple of the LORD, the temple of the LORD," and in my zeal have exclaimed against Dissenters; but little did I think, that I was ignorant all this while

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of moſt of her eſſential articles, and that my practice, as well as the want of a real experience of a work of regeneration and true converſion, when I was uſing her offices, and reading her homilies, gave my conſcience the lie.

O my friends! a form of Godlineſs without the power, and dead morality not founded on a living faith in the LORD JESUS CHRIST, is ſuch a dreadful deluſion, ſo contrary to the lively oracles of GOD, that did not I know (though alas, how late!) that the righteouſneſs of JESUS CHRIST was revealed in them, and that there was mercy to be found with GOD, if we venture by a real faith on that righteouſneſs, though at the eleventh hour, I muſt now ſink into total deſpair.

Penitens was here going on, but had his mouth ſtopped by a convulſion, which never ſuffered him to ſpeak any more. He lay convulſed about twelve hours, and then gave up the ghoſt.

Now if every reader would imagine this *Penitens* to have been ſome particular acquaintance or relation of his, and fancy that he ſaw and heard all which is here deſcribed; that he ſtood by his bed-ſide when his poor friend lay in ſuch diſtreſs and agony, lamenting the want of a living faith in JESUS CHRIST, as the cauſe of a dead, lifeleſs, indevout life: beſides this, he ſhould conſider, how often he himſelf might have been ſurprized in the ſame formal dead ſtate, and made an example to the reſt of the world; this double reflection, both upon the diſtreſs of his friend, and the goodneſs of that GOD, which ought to have led him to repentance, would in all likelihood ſet him upon ſeeking and earneſtly praying for ſuch a faith, of which *Penitens* felt himſelf void, and conſtrain him to let the LORD have no reſt, till he ſhould be pleaſed to apply the righteouſneſs of his dear SON to his ſin-ſick ſoul, and enable him henceforward to ſtudy, out of love, to glorify him in all the actions of his future life, as the beſt and happieſt thing in the world.

THIS therefore being ſo uſeful a meditation, I ſhall here leave the reader, I hope ſeriouſly engaged in it.

FINIS.

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